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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HENRY LORD BROUGHAM

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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TO THE READER.

THE following instructions were given by Lord Brougham to me, as his executor :—

"Before the Autobiography can be published, you must see that it is arranged chronologically.

"If (writing from memory) I have made mistakes in dates, or in proper names, let such be corrected; but the *Narrative* is to be printed, *AS I HAVE WRITTEN IT.*

"I alone am answerable for all its statements, faults, and omissions. I will have no Editor employed to alter, or rewrite what I desire shall be published, as *EXCLUSIVELY MY OWN.*

"BROUGHAM, *November* 1867."

In publishing Lord Brougham's Autobiography, the above explicit directions, have been scrupulously obeyed.

BROUGHAM & VAUX.

BROUGHAM, *January* 1871.

NOTE

TO

SECOND EDITION OF VOLUME I.

MANY inquiries having been made as to the dates at which these Memoirs were written, the following memorandum on the subject is supplied by the present Lord Brougham :—

"On Saturday, 5th October 1861, Lord Brougham, then *in his 84th year* (for he was 83 on the 19th September 1861), began with me, at Brougham, to look out all the letters and papers relating to the Princess Charlotte, the Princess of Wales, and the Queen's Trial. On TUESDAY, 8TH OCTOBER, he began to write upon that subject.

"On Thursday the 17th, the narrative of the Trial, and all that related to his connection with the Princess of Wales and her daughter, was sketched out.

"On the 29th November we went to Cannes, taking with us all letters and papers, which were there copied and arranged with the narrative.

"*In September* 1862 he began, while at Brougham, the Political part—*i.e.*, Canning and his Government, Lord Grey and his Government, and so on to the end of 1834.

"When we went to Cannes in November 1862, all Lord Grey's letters were taken, and from these he made selections. In the autumn of 1863, when at Brougham, he completed this part, by the addition of his own narrative, and letters—letters which he had before that time received from Lady Grey, Lord Grey's widow, and without which he could have done nothing.

"Up to this time he had not written one word of his Early Life; but on being strongly urged to attempt this, both by Mr Elwin (then editor of the 'Quarterly') and myself, he began in November 1863, and, in a search he then made for early materials, he found the MS. of Memnon. This he marked in pencil on the first page, thus: 'At B——m (Brougham), 1792.' He believed he had *composed* it, entirely forgetting that it was only a translation, probably a task set him by his tutor—a very pardonable mistake after a lapse of seventy years. He continued to write at this part of his Early Life, from time to time, TILL NOVEMBER 1867.

"BROUGHAM, *March* 1871."

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM.

CHAPTER X.

The Orders in Council.

CONTEST WITH THE "ORDERS IN COUNCIL"—THEIR ORIGIN—THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES—THE POLICY OF RETALIATION ADOPTED IN THE ORDERS — PREPARATIONS FOR ATTACKING THEM — CORRESPONDENCE WITH MERCANTILE MEN — MOTION FOR SELECT COMMITTEE—JAMES STEPHEN—ALEXANDER BARING —PERCEVAL—INCIDENTS OF HIS ASSASSINATION—ITS POLITICAL EFFECTS—RECALL OF THE ORDERS—STATE OF PARTIES—WARD (LORD DUDLEY) AND HIS FOLLOWERS—INSTANCES OF THE POPULARITY OF THE RECALL—QUESTION OF TESTIMONIALS FOR PUBLIC SERVICES — AMERICAN DECLARATION OF WAR — WILBERFORCE WRITES ABOUT HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF YORKSHIRE—AN OPENING IN LIVERPOOL—ACCOUNT OF UNSUCCESSFUL CONTEST THERE—RETURNED FOR WINCHELSEA.

THE repeal of the Orders in Council was my greatest achievement. It was second to none of the many efforts made by me, and not altogether without success, to ameliorate the condition of my fellow-men. In these I had the sympathy and aid of others, but in

the battle against the Orders in Council I fought alone.

In the beginning of the struggle, when in 1808 I contended before the House of Lords and House of Commons on behalf of the traders and manufacturers of Liverpool, Birmingham, London, and Manchester, I had to confront the opposition not only of the Tory Government, but of the Whig ministers of 1806 and 1807, who had issued the first Order, afterwards greatly extended in impolicy and injustice by the Orders of their Tory successors.*

I do not deny that between the beginning of the contest in 1808 and the victory I gained in 1812, the Whigs, perhaps convinced by the evidence I produced in Parliament, perhaps acting upon their natural tendency to oppose the measures of their Tory successors (albeit the Orders issued by them were in reality identical with their own of January 1807), did afford me most valuable assistance. By their help, and by the great assistance I received from others, especially from Alexander Baring, I was enabled to prevail, and to achieve what I have always looked upon as the greatest success it ever was my fate to win. I shall not say a word upon what I have done for education, slavery, charitable trusts, or law reform, for all I did in such matters has been long before the public, is well known by my speeches in Parliament, by my writings, and by the fact that many of the measures which I so strenuously advocated have long since been adopted by the Legislature. I may, however, be pardoned for referring, with some pride, to the acknowledgment of my services, declared by the

* See Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, i. 393 *et seq.*

express order of her Majesty to Lord Palmerston upon the occasion of the peerage granted to me in 1860.*

I now proceed to the subject of the Orders in Council, and the circumstances of their repeal.

When Napoleon was satisfied that any attempt to subdue Great Britain by force of arms must prove ineffectual, and when he had, in consequence of this conviction, given up the project of invasion which at one time he had unquestionably entertained, he directed all his energies to the discovery of some scheme that might, by injuring our trade, cripple our resources, and lessen our wealth, and thereby weaken our authority on the Continent.

There can be no doubt that he borrowed his idea from the measures formerly adopted by the Directory,† in accordance with which he issued from Berlin, in 1806, an interdict which declared the islands of Great Britain in a state of blockade, all British subjects, wherever found, prisoners of war, and all British goods, wherever taken, lawful prize.‡ It further excluded from all the ports in France every vessel which had touched at any British port, no matter to what nation such vessel might belong.

The parts of this decree which most affected English interests were, the seizure of all British produce, no matter where found, and the exclusion from French

* The words I refer to are as follows: "In consideration of the eminent public services of our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Henry Baron Brougham and Vaux, more especially in the diffusion of knowledge, the spread of education, and the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, of our especial grant, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have advanced, preferred, and created him," &c.

† In the decrees of July 1796 and January 1798.

‡ This was the famous "Berlin Decree," dated the 20th November 1806.

ports of all vessels that had touched at any port of Great Britain.

If England had been content to remain quiet, and had left France and the neutral states to fight it out, it is extremely probable that our trade would in the long-run have gained rather than lost—at least, as long as we could furnish goods to meet the demand; which demand would have been met either by help of smuggling or by other contrivances.

Unfortunately, our rulers, taking a different view, determined to fight Napoleon with his own weapons, and to adopt measures of retaliation.

A more unsound—a more fatal policy—never was conceived. The Whigs were in office at the date of the Berlin Decree; and that Government, instead of waiting to see how the neutral powers, especially America, would act—instead of giving time for deliberation, or even submitting the question to the opinion of Parliament—took a course little likely to injure France, but fraught with certain and absolute destruction to ourselves.

The Whig Order was issued at the beginning of January 1807; it declared that England was authorised by the Berlin Decree to blockade the whole seaboard of France; to prohibit all vessels which had touched at any French port from entering our ports; and that if we pleased to exercise the power, we should be justified in seizing the cargoes. Such a wanton outrage against the rights of neutrals never before was perpetrated. No doubt France had by the Berlin Decree grossly violated neutral rights, but that was no justification of the course taken by England.

Before the close of 1807 the Whigs were succeeded

by a Tory Government, which about the end of that year issued other Orders in Council, every whit as objectionable as the Whig Order of January. Unquestionably the Americans considered the Whig Order identical in principle with Mr Perceval's. When, in 1808, I appeared at the bar of the House of Commons as counsel for the manufacturers and traders of England against these Orders, I made no distinction between the Whig and the Tory Order. I condemned both as being identical in principle, equally impolitic, and equally destructive of English commerce.

I am bound to say that when, four years after, I fought the great battle in Parliament, I was greatly assisted by the Whig party, who had by that time become abundantly hostile to that system of injustice and impolicy which, founded by themselves, had been, as I have already said, greatly extended by their Tory rivals.

I have called the Orders which followed the Whig Order of January 1807, Perceval's, but in truth James Stephen was their author.

He was a man of very considerable powers, combined with great firmness of purpose and unquenchable ardour. Strong in body as well as mind, he was capable of undergoing any amount of labour; and, wedded to his own opinion, he resisted all attacks with a firmness that amounted to obstinacy.

The best part of his life had been passed in the West Indies, where he practised at the bar; on his return to England, he came into Parliament under the auspices of his great friend Perceval; for Stephen was a member of the Evangelical party, to which Perceval had a strong leaning, although he did not actually belong to it. As a speaker he certainly had consider-

able success; but yet neither as a debater nor as a speaker could he be classed as of a high order. He had not the correct taste which is acquired by the habit of frequenting refined society, and the practice of addressing a fastidious audience.

He held upon political subjects very decided opinions, and at all times was ready to assert them with the most determined and uncompromising spirit. He was strong upon the slave question, and felt this as above all others sacred, not only from his strong religious feelings, but from his near connection with Wilberforce, whose sister he had married; and upon this subject he published many valuable works.*

That the enthusiasm of his nature warped his better judgment, is shown by a remarkable pamphlet he published early in 1807, 'On the Dangers of the Country,' in which he actually argues, that all the misfortunes inflicted upon Europe by the wars with France were a punishment inflicted by Providence, because England had more than once rejected the measure for the abolition of slavery!—a somewhat unfair appreciation of the justice of Providence, seeing that so many of the Continental countries which had suffered most from Napo-

* Among these were the 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' the 'Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture,' the 'Opportunity,' 'The Slavery of the British West India Colonies, delineated as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, ancient and modern;' 'England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies.' In reference to Stephen and the Orders in Council, see in Lord Brougham's 'Contributions to the Edinburgh Review,' ii. 81, the article "On Foreign Affairs," reviewing, among other pieces, 'The Speech of James Stephen, Esq., in the Debate in the House of Commons, March 6, 1809, on Mr Whitbread's Motion relative to the late Overture of the American Government, with supplementary remarks on the recent Orders in Council.' Stephen died in 1832. His son, Sir James, long Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was an author, and a contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review.'

leon, possessed neither colonies nor slave-trading vessels, and were therefore guiltless of all slave traffic.

It can be readily understood that this insane theory engendered in Stephen such a hatred of Napoleon, that he directed the whole force of his mind to devise some means of counteracting his attempts to injure the commerce of this country. Highly applauding the Whig Order of January 1807, as soon as his friend Mr Perceval became minister, he readily obtained his assent to a still more complete system of retaliation. With this view he framed the famous Order of November 1807, which brought our mercantile conflict, not with France only, but unhappily with America, to a crisis. He preluded his Order by a tract deservedly celebrated, and most justly admired, entitled 'War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags.' It is impossible to speak too highly of this work, or to deny its signal success in making the nation for a time thoroughly believe in the justice and efficacy of his Orders in Council. This is not the time or place to discuss the merits or defects of this tract of Stephen's, or to refute the arguments or expose the fallacies of the scheme that was supposed to be all-powerful in defeating not only the Berlin but the Milan Decree of Napoleon;* suffice it to say that the Orders, coupled with the system of licences issued to permit certain vessels to pass, notwithstanding the Orders in Council, followed by the American Embargo and Non-importation Acts, which produced a suspension of all commerce with the United States, brought destruction upon British commerce, and caused the manufacturers of London, Hull,

* This Decree was issued at Milan on the 17th December 1807, and was intended to enforce more rigorously the Berlin Decree.

Manchester, and Liverpool to deluge Parliament with petitions against the policy of the Orders, and to tender evidence to prove the great injuries inflicted.

As counsel for the merchants, manufacturers, and traders, I was heard at the bar of both Houses, and produced an overwhelming body of evidence in support of the petitions. This began in the spring of 1808, but all attempts to move the ministers proved unavailing; and it was not till four years after that there appeared any hope of a more favourable result.

Throughout all the early part of 1812, I had been in constant correspondence with leading men in the manufacturing districts, not only on the state of trade and the distresses, but on the not ill-grounded apprehensions of a war with America, and the fears lest these combined evils might lead to acts of violence from those who considered the distress they were suffering from altogether due to the mischievous policy of the Government.

The following letter, which I wrote to one of the leading manufacturers, will more fully explain this state of things, and my opinion:—

TO J. WALKER, ESQ.

"LONDON, *March* 6, 1812.

"SIR,—I am firmly persuaded that nothing is wanted to obtain such a change of measures as will relieve the present unexampled distresses of the manufacturing counties, but a firm and united representation of those distresses to Parliament, in temperate language and accompanied with peaceable conduct. By pursuing this course, I am very sanguine in the expectation that one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, evil which

can visit this country, a war with America, may be fortunately prevented. Should the present system be persisted in, I much fear *that* misfortune is at no great distance, and, when it arrives, no one can doubt how great an addition to our sufferings it will bring with it. There appears to me to be no other mode of proceeding, in order to resist the present ruinous system, than the one I have taken the liberty of recommending. It would be vain to expect any relief from applications to the Prince Regent, while his Royal Highness continues to give his confidence to those men whose measures, so obstinately persisted in, have brought the trade of the country into its present state, and who, resolved upon pursuing the same fatal policy, wholly regardless of its consequences, appear to have made up their minds to an American war, as no extravagant price to pay for their favourite system. The approaches to the throne, too, are now beset with unusual difficulties, since his Royal Highness has unhappily listened to those who advise him against being freely seen by his people; and, acting under the influence of such counsels, it should seem that the Prince is no longer so accessible to the distresses and complaints of his subjects as his own gracious inclinations might dispose him to be. On the other hand, it would be most calamitous if the people were to suffer those distresses to mislead them into any acts of violence—calamitous in every view, but, above all, for this reason, that the inevitable consequence of such illegal conduct must be the giving to the executive Government that accession of support which alone is wanting to enable the ministers to complete the mischief their measures have been working, and hurry us into a

rupture with our best customers and most natural allies, the free and English people of America. While, therefore, I dissuade you from any further attempts to seek redress at the foot of the throne as unavailing under the present circumstances, and while I most earnestly deprecate all proceedings that may either in themselves or in their consequences interfere with the public tranquillity, I would urge you with the same anxiety to come before Parliament; and I conceive that the earlier you do so, and with the greater unanimity, and the more extensive co-operation from other counties in similar circumstances, the better your chance will be, both of preventing the apprehended hostilities abroad, and of maintaining peace and good order in the bosom of our country.

"In the same spirit, I venture to express my hopes that at any meetings which may be held for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature, the greatest care will be taken to avoid all introduction of political topics unconnected with the serious matters which immediately press upon you. If any exception could be permitted to this remark, it might perhaps be found in the consideration which so naturally suggests itself, that those great and populous cities, among the first in the empire, which now labour under such unprecedented distresses from the measures of Government, and are about to seek relief from the House of Commons,—Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, —are unfortunately left without any representatives in that branch of the Legislature. But this reflection, however material at any other time, ought, together with everything of a political nature, to be kept separate from your present objects. And I am confident that the worthy members who represent the

counties with which those towns are connected, will not be wanting in their endeavours to press your case upon the attention of Parliament.

"For myself, I can only say that my humble efforts shall never be grudged in co-operating with you for the attainment of your object. The usual professional avocations of this season oblige me now to leave town. But as soon as your petitions come before Parliament, I shall hold myself ready to return to my attendance in Parliament at the shortest notice; considering the support of your applications, in the present state of the country, as an engagement greatly paramount to every other. I have consulted with Mr Whitbread and other friends in both Houses of Parliament, whose judgment deserves a degree of confidence which I am far from reposing in my own, and their concurrence in opinion with me makes me the more decided in what I have now stated as an answer to the communication with which you honoured me.—I am, &c.

"H. BROUGHAM.

"J. WALKER, Esq."

On the 3d of March 1812 I brought the whole question before the notice of the House of Commons, and moved for a select committee to inquire into the present state of the commerce and manufactures of the country with reference to the effects of the Orders in Council and the licence system. Opposed by Rose, who insisted that the Orders in Council were a measure of sound policy, and that if repealed we should open the trade of the whole world to France, I was warmly supported by Alexander Baring,* and as hotly opposed by Stephen, feebly by Canning, who only went so far

* Afterwards Lord Ashburton.

as to say "he *believed* the Orders in Council had been beneficial." Wilberforce, who at one time had believed in their justice and policy, now declared he was satisfied I had made out a case for inquiry; and, after a useful speech from Whitbread, we divided, 144 voting for, and 216 against, the appointment of a select committee.

Next day I wrote as follows to Mr Thorneley, one of my mercantile friends at Liverpool :—

"TEMPLE, *March* 4, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have delayed thanking you for your many excellent and most important communications, because I was too much occupied in using them ; and by a pressure of business, as well as by a severe illness under which I have laboured (indeed I got out of bed to go to the House last night),—to have time to write to you for the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of your letters. I now return you my hearty thanks, and only lament I could not turn them to better account

"You will see the account of the debate. I have only seen the 'Morning Chronicle,' which is tolerably accurate, but makes some blunders and omits some material things, particularly my attack on Perceval, in reply, for allowing that the motive of keeping the Orders now was to prevent French goods from being carried by the Americans to South America and elsewhere, to undersell ours. The House received this attack with particular warmth, as well as what I said against an American war, and against the Prince Regent. Indeed it would have been an admirable lesson to him (if he is not past all reformation) to have heard

the furious roaring with which the attack on him was received.

"Our division is a good one, and by following it up with petitions an American war may be prevented. If petitions come to Parliament this may be done, and the ministers may be driven from the Orders in Council. Those measures are materially damaged; but the country must follow up the blow if it would see them given up.—My best regards to Mr Martin, Mr Roscoe, and our other friends; and believe me ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Petitions against the Orders were from time to time presented in both Houses—in the Lords by Lord Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Lauderdale and Lord Derby; in the Commons by General Gascoigne, myself, and many others. These petitions showed incontestably the great distress and pressure under which the manufacturing and commercial interests all over the country laboured.

The result was, that on the 28th of April the Government agreed that the inquiry should be taken before a committee of the whole House, to sit *de die in diem;* and agreed to my motion that witnesses from Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, and elsewhere, should be summoned to attend.

The committee began its sittings on the 5th of May—a committee of the whole House in the Lords also going into the inquiry, and sitting from day to day.

I had for about a fortnight, with the help of Alexander Baring, been carrying on the inquiry, by examining witnesses and debating questions as they arose

on the evidence tendered. The Government—that is, Perceval, who had adopted Stephen's system—conceived that the feeling excited by the distress in the manufacturing districts would subside, and maintained that the accounts of that distress were greatly exaggerated. The object, therefore, of the Government was to protract the inquiry by all means in their power, and give time for what they regarded as clamour to diminish, if not to cease. Thus the constant struggle between us was, Baring and I pressing on the examination of witnesses, Perceval and Stephen interposing obstacles to gain time. We insisted on beginning each day as early as possible, and so far prevailed as to have it settled that I should call my witnesses at half-past four, and continue till ten; by which arrangement I was practically enabled to continue much longer, because all save those who took peculiar interest in the subject had left the House. Our attack was carried on not only by the examination of witnesses, but partly by debating the petitions presented night after night, partly by discussions arising on objections taken to questions put, and by additional statements proceeding from members connected with different parts of the country, as well as with Yorkshire, Lancashire, London, and Glasgow, from whence the bulk of the petitions had come. Our adversaries had even hopes of support by petitions from some quarters. In the only conversation I had with Perceval during the inquiry, he said, "In that quarter (the woollen) you will not run alone; there will be counter-petitions from the clothing districts." He spoke as comparing it with the hardware districts, where we had made great play. But it turned out that the case was considerably stronger in

the woollen country. Unhappily he did not live to witness the contradiction to his prediction. On the 11th May, when complaining that he had not come down at the stipulated time, I told the Secretary of the Treasury that I must go on notwithstanding, as it was the second time Perceval had failed me. He sent a messenger to Downing Street to hasten Perceval, by letting him know we had begun. The messenger met him in Parliament Street, walking with Stephen, who, of course, attended most regularly, and took a constant and active part. Perceval, with his wonted activity, left him, and darted forward to the House. Had Stephen continued as he was, on the left hand, he might have been the victim of Bellingham, who was waiting in the lobby either for Perceval or some one of note: it afterwards appeared he hardly knew or cared who.

I was proceeding with my examination of the witness, when I heard a report, as it seemed to me of a pistol which had gone off in some one's pocket in the gallery, the sound being deadened. This passed through my mind, but I did not interrupt my examination. Some persons were seen in the gallery running towards the door, so it seemed that the report had come from the lobby. Instantly after, General Gascoigne rushed up the House and cried, "He has been shot!" As I expected Whitbread, I asked if it was he. Gascoigne replied, "No, Perceval; he is shot dead."

He had fallen close to William Smith, who took him up, and, assisted by others, carried him into the Speaker's room. Before they got there he was dead. The ball had penetrated the heart, passing completely

through it, near the centre, so that death must have been almost instantaneous. Bellingham made no attempt to escape, but at once stepped forward, and declared that he had fired the fatal shot. He was committed by Michael Angelo Taylor, a Middlesex magistrate, who happened to be present. The House immediately adjourned.

Next day an attempt was made to make us suspend the inquiry, in consequence of this most lamentable event, but we positively refused. Indeed, the suspension of all other business which necessarily ensued, enabled us to make a rapid progress with our evidence, of which a great body was produced during the next four weeks. The natural anxiety to let no interruption be given by what had happened, was increased by the desire to disconnect it as much as possible with the inquiry. A Liverpool man having been the assassin was quite sufficient to raise reports; and Stephen's feelings of grief for the fate of one he had so much loved, were his excuse when he threw out insinuations of the same kind, even levelled at us who were conducting the inquiry. But he soon regained his presence of mind, and continued, as we did, to discharge his duty. I thought it right to see Castlereagh. He urged me to suspend the proceedings for a week or two, until the Government was better established. To this I of course could not consent, nor indeed could I be sure that I had the power. But I pressed him to abandon quietly the commercial policy of his predecessor, and distinctly pledged myself to abstain from all party triumph, and affirmed that I could give the same undertaking for my friends, and the supporters of our proceedings generally. He

either could not or would not agree to this; and said that the inquiry must go on, only again urging delay. A belief soon became prevalent that the Government intended to give up the Orders in Council, and I lost no time in again seeing Castlereagh, to urge the expediency of not at once taking this course, but separating it by some short interval from the lamentable fate of his colleague, both in justice to his memory, that it might not seem to be admitted he was the author of the system, which he really was not; and in fairness to its adversaries, to show that they had not encouraged such grounds of opposing it; and, above all, to show that such detestable acts had not been successful, if directed towards such an end. He said there was great soundness in my view, but that there was no intention of recalling the Orders, and that we must go on with our case, which I said I felt quite sure must, when completed, lead to the result supposed to be in contemplation. This, he again said, was a groundless report; and again urged, as he had before done, that we ought to delay our proceedings, in consequence of what had happened, and I again refused to do so. I afterwards found that my desire to keep Bellingham's act separate from our inquiry and its supporters had not been groundless; for my excellent friend Dr Shepherd, who had lately come to London from Liverpool, told me that one of our most zealous supporters at Liverpool (Colonel Williams, a retired military man who had seen much service) said he considered Bellingham a very remarkable man, and acting upon strongly-fixed principles. Now, that he was deranged there can be no manner of doubt. He confessed that his primary intention had been to kill Lord Grenville,

who had refused to support some claim of his at St Petersburg (where he was ambassador), but that Perceval came in his way, and he must kill somebody. The trial was the greatest disgrace to English justice. On the evening of Monday, May 11th, the act was committed. On the morning of Monday, May 18th, Bellingham was executed, the Court before which he was tried having refused an application for a few days' delay, grounded on the representation that evidence of his mental incapacity could be obtained from Liverpool, where he had resided and was known. Indeed the panic occasioned by the act had not subsided when, four days after, he was put upon his trial, and when the judge and jury were called upon to administer justice, callously, and inaccessible to all feelings, especially to all outward impressions. How often have I heard Erskine express his horror of this proceeding! He often referred, as he well might, to that beautiful passage in his defence of Hadfield, describing "the whole nation as by statute placed under a fifteen days' quarantine, to secure the mind from the contagion of partial affections," in cases of treason.* But in Bellingham's case there was the same contagion; and to defend the refusal of the application for delay by technical objections of the want of an affidavit, was grossly absurd; because nothing could disarm the Court of its discretionary power to grant the delay of a few days, when the application would certainly have been backed by affidavits, if indeed evidence of his insanity had not been produced. They who, like the military man referred to above as believ-

* James Hadfield, tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity in the year 1800, for firing at King George III. in Drury Lane Theatre.

ing Bellingham to have been actuated by political motives on one side of the question, might well believe that he was sacrificed to the vehement popular feelings, if not in favour of the system under trial, certainly in favour of its principal defender, and indignation at his fate. What a serious reflection are such proceedings upon our national character! The act of an individual, be it ever so outrageous, and whether of sound mind and responsibility or not, affixes no such blot on the character of the country as the deliberate proceeding of its highest tribunal, preventing all justice by yielding to the prevailing passions or feelings of the hour.

When I refused Castlereagh's request for delay, I went on as before day after day; and the evidence proved the distressed state of trade and manufactures all over the country, clearly connecting it with the system which had professed to be reluctantly adopted "for the protection of our commerce, and for retaliating on the enemy the evils of his own injustice." I had given notice for the 23d June of a motion to address the Crown for a recall of the Orders in Council; but our friends deemed it better to proceed a week earlier in consequence of the daily-increasing severity of the distress, and of the risks of American hostility; so I gave my notice for the 16th, and this anticipation was at the time and ever after much complained of, especially by Mr Rose, who maintained it to be irregular. The Speaker, however, would not support him by declaring it against the rules of the House; and the agitated state of the country rendered every day of consequence. When the 16th came, and I rose to move, the absence of Mr Stephen struck me as very

remarkable, and gave our friends great hopes of a surrender being in contemplation. I spoke at great but not unnecessary length, going into the whole case, and attacking all the abuses of the licence system which had grown up under the Orders, and both in their moral and commercial effects had created additional and inevitable mischief. Rose, as head of the Board of Trade, followed in defence of the system, and then Baring in my support, when Castlereagh on the part of the Government said the motion need not be pressed to a division, as the Crown had been advised immediately to recall the Orders. The conduct of the Government was inexplicable, unless on the supposition that they had not finally taken this resolution until they saw the appearance of the House. The absence of Stephen seemed to indicate that the recall had been decided before the debate. Then why suffer a debate almost entirely on one side? It is barely possible that the disposition to recall was so strong as to make Stephen sure that such would be the fate of his system; but yet that it was only a determination so to proceed, unless the appearance of the House showed some chance of a majority for ministers. Stephen adhered to the Government, as the remains of Perceval's, and evidently declined to attend, on being convinced of what would happen, and unwilling to express the contempt which he professed to feel for their conduct. But that conduct was unavoidable, except in the delay of the announcement; for there could be no manner of doubt that they would have been left in a minority had we gone to a division. They therefore preferred having a damaging debate without a damaging division, though Canning and their other ill-wishers

always taunted them with their weakness in surrendering without a fight.

My coadjutor in this successful struggle was Alexander Baring; and no one could have been found more fitted to bear the part he did in the controversy, both from his general information, the depth as well as precision of his understanding, and his position as the first merchant in London, indeed in the world—besides his connection with America both by his property and his commerce, and by having married into one of the first families in the United States.

In consequence of this victory, as well as of my former connection with Liverpool, when acting as their counsel in 1808, I was urged to stand for the borough at the approaching general election.

But before any steps could be taken, indeed before I had given an answer, the Orders in Council were immediately after the 23d of June repealed.

Shortly after this, a communication was made to me by Lord Castlereagh, the particulars of which, in consequence of suggestions made to me by many of the leading merchants of Liverpool, that I should proceed to America as negotiator with the American Government, I communicated to Mr Roscoe in a letter I wrote to him from Brougham; and I added, "I have every reason to believe that the news brought by the Gleaner is unfavourable. My authority is the form of expression in a letter I have just received from Lord Castlereagh, who wishes to confer with me on the turn affairs are taking in America. I am writing to him, but I cannot think of going to town, as it would do no good. I shall write to Baring to watch him. I beg of you to keep these particulars *entirely* to yourself; but

if the result of them—namely, that *the Government* are apprehensive—can do any good to any of our friends, you might give them that hint.

"I hope I may be wrong in my construction, but I fear the worst.—Ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Many of my Liverpool friends, as well as Baring, had urged me to go as negotiator with the American Government. My answer was, that if they thought that my position with respect to the late repeal might facilitate so desirable an event as a settlement of the American dispute, I had no objection, however great the personal sacrifice might be, but said that Baring would be better, from his American connections. Both he and the others, however, considered that rather as an objection to him; besides, that I had been the leader in the late contest, and had taken the part of America in all the controversies which had arisen for the last five or six years. Therefore, in consequence of these solicitations, and in redemption of the pledge I had given, both privately to Castlereagh and on the 23d June in the House of Commons, I wrote to Castlereagh on the 1st August, that "I had no objection to undertake the negotiation;" and the day after added, that, if necessary, I should not object to proceed to America, "the only expense to the country being my passage there and back with a single servant."

His answer was, that he regarded this offer "as fully and honourably redeeming the pledge I had given," but declining the offer "for the present," which of course meant altogether; and so it turned out, for I heard no more of it.

Before I went the summer circuit, I had the following letter from Horner:—

FROM FRANCIS HORNER.

"IVY BRIDGE, DEVON, *July* 25, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter just as I was leaving Exeter, the great kindness of which gave me very sincere pleasure.

"I learned with very great satisfaction from Whishaw that the Liverpool people have manifested in the most appropriate manner their gratitude for the services, unexampled in the modern history of Parliament, which you have rendered them, in common with all the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country. It is the true reward for such indefatigable, persevering exertions, and will give delight and pride to all your friends.—Believe me always very faithfully yours, FRA. HORNER."

The communications I had been about this time making to Lord Grey on all these matters led to the following correspondence:—

TO EARL GREY.

"DURHAM, *August* 2, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I had meant to write some days ago to you on many subjects, and delayed it owing to business. One was what you allude to—*Ward's movement*, or rather declaration.* He was, as you might suspect, the person I alluded to at Ledstone. Now, I really think you are wrong as to his

* John William Ward, afterwards Viscount Dudley and Ward by succession; and, in 1827, Earl Dudley by creation.

motives, which, if altogether personal and private, and on that account less respectable in some sort, are, I know, quite free from any tinge, even the slightest, of corruption or place-hunting. In truth, had Canning been in office he would not have declared, or thought of it; and a year ago he often said to me (when annoyed by things in the House of Commons) how he wished you were all in office that he might join the ex-party—viz., Canning. I had several long and most warm conferences with him before he made up his mind, and of course said what occurred to me freely. At the same time, when he put it to me whether, *in point of honour*, he was acting blamably, I could not say so, considering his loose connection at all times with us, and his decided difference on some points. I did not conceal from him, however, that this might not be the opinion of all his friends.

"I can tell you distinctly how this matter stands, and I wish you would let Lord Grenville and any other friends know it also, though, in general, it is nine parts in ten personal. He greatly admires, somewhat likes, and in no little degree fears, Canning, for his classical attainments, and his jokes and flings. So do William Lamb* and Granville Vernon, and so do Peel and all the other young fry about the offices—very inferior to our youths, of course. Now Ward, like them, is a dealer in a sort of ware, very marketable up to a certain price and for some time, but base in its real nature, and which don't keep—I mean little prize essays of speeches, got up and polished, and useless, quite useless, for affairs. To have Canning—the leader in this line—against them, and sneering at them,

* Afterwards Lord Melbourne.

they do not like; and not being men of very great minds (though very good and clever men—one part of them, at least), they would fain at all costs be with him. First they move heaven and earth to get him and you together, and then, when the clay and gold won't unite, they go after the former. Depend on it, this is at the bottom of it all. I know the men, and have sounded them for years; of this I never saw a moment's reason to doubt. But this feeling prevails in different strength in them. In Ward it is predominant, and he follows it. He does not like our House of Commons leaders, and particularly objects (as many others do, and, in my fair and candid opinion, with much reason) to Tierney, whose errors and fears really do mightily diminish his acknowledged merits. You know, among other great blunders, he is a general discourager, and does nothing to bring forward or protect the young ones. He throws cold water on all that is proposed; and it is proved to the satisfaction of every man who knew anything of the progress of the question, that had he had his own way, in *any one particular*, of the many in dispute among us, [that of] the Orders in Council would have failed almost entirely —possibly they might never have been brought forward, certainly by me they never could, though I don't know who he had in his eye. But I speak of his general habit of *discouraging*—the very reverse of Fox's and yours. He always forgets that an Opposition can hardly be too active or adventurous, and he acts as if he were in the Cabinet. My answer to all this is (and so I told Ward), that we look not to Tierney but to you, and to George Ponsonby as your friend. Then he objects to our leader's not being in the House of

Commons—a misfortune, no doubt—and says if you had remained there he should no more have thought of looking abroad to Canning than to Lord Liverpool. In short, you see there is a mixture of likings and dislikings, all for the most part groundless, in my opinion, but not in his, I verily believe. Place he really cares nothing about, and I believe he never would take it with any set of men. As for another tie, that which I or any of his old and personal friends (I believe it applies to me chiefly) may have over him,—on this we have often spoken together; but, unfortunately, we differ on some radical points. He is an alarmist about reform and popular principles; and he considers me as being a Jacobin, or at least a sort of link between you and the Mountain—very absurdly, as I often have told him, for I don't believe (as far as my opinions signify) I ever thought of going beyond you in anything of the kind. The question of peace and neutral points, perhaps the most important of any, I put to him strongly, and found he considered his differences with Canning on the former to be no greater than with you on the latter. I really forget how he answered, for in truth I considered the case as up before we came to that part of it.

"By the way, another point, I daresay, is the Hollands; you know his difference with them is very far the reverse of mine (if you ever heard of mine), which neither they nor I can tell the grounds of, and which is really the most comical and absurd thing in the world. But Ward has a real quarrel, and hates them, and is disliked by them. This has no little additional influence.

"Almost all these motives are personal, you see, and I don't say highly respectable. He goes over to Can-

ning because he feels more comfortable in doing so. He will find a woeful difference. I have told him so, and given him warning that the first opportunity I shall, for one, fire into him very unmercifully. Indeed I deem this a sort of duty, and shall take some pleasure in it.

"All this is a very dull and long account of the matter; but whatever you may feel as to Ward, you may rest assured there is nothing base or shabby in him—quite the contrary. Now I say dull, because the subject is really not worth much trouble, one way or other, except as Ward is a friend, for I consider him a very weak public man in every point of view. His conduct might be *pravi exempli*, but Lamb dares not follow it; and Vernon, I am sure, would not, even if he were allowed. I had much rather have Ward, and Lamb too, fairly against us, than grumbling and doing us no earthly good. So much for this subject.

"What think you of the Americans? A little hasty, I presume all will allow, but they saw the majorities in March in favour of the 'Orders,' and it is not known whether they knew of the inquiry being gone into; certainly not when the president's message was delivered, June 1. Perceval's death was *not* known till three days after the Act passed, on 21st June.* I rejoice *upon the whole*; because it will make the peace

* The principal dates in the Recall of the Orders are—on 16th June, on "Mr Brougham's motion on the present state of Commerce and Manufactures, and for the repeal of the Orders in Council." On that occasion—referred to above, p. 20—Lord Castlereagh announced the intention to "suspend" the Orders. The Act of Council repealing or recalling the Act commonly called the "Orders in Council," was passed on the 23d of June, and on that day Mr Brougham addressed the House in a congratulatory speech, and re-moved that the order for a call of the House on his motion be discharged.

and good behaviour of this country lasting, when it begins. But for this Act we never should have believed in an American war. The message shows that the repeal will suspend hostilities—at any rate, that a short negotiation will lead to it, and our victory in this country will be then very complete.

"By the way, all the people I have seen, and all my correspondence with different meetings, evince how much the Opposition have gained in the country by this practical proof of the wisdom of these measures. They say a thousand times, 'Had Lord Grey been minister this would not have happened.' I also think the rejection of the prince's offer popular, though of this I am not so sure; it is less intelligible. But that you *are* very popular upon the whole, I plainly perceive. Indeed, such men as Roscoe, &c., are already quite reclaimed. I don't mean that things should be undertaken from mere love of popularity, but it is a good assisting reason, when they are excellent in themselves; therefore I hope we shall, next session, make a vigorous assault on the farmers' property-tax. I gave a general notice, in consequence of which hundreds of persons have written and applied to me. You remember talking of it four years ago. Northumberland should really take the lead in this matter; it belongs to it.

"There is a great wish at Liverpool, in the Tory party, to have a compromise—Canning and me—without any contest. I have not given my answer, but wish to know how it strikes you. Of course I mean on the supposition of our finding it quite impossible to carry two. My own feeling has always been rather to have nothing to do with it unless this were possible, and even easy, for it is as well for us to have the two

generals* as Canning and me—indeed, on every account better; but I wish much to know how it strikes you.

"I have great hopes of being at Howick this day week. Eden† certainly,—Lamb‡ doubtful; but I think I shall at all events come over the hills in a gig, and see you, after the circuit. What you say of the plate, &c., biasses me against declining.—Ever yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

After the great victory in June, there were meetings in all the great manufacturing towns; resolutions of congratulations and of thanks to me for my successful efforts, and not a few votes of civic donations; but, except in one instance, I only knew of these things by the newspaper reports of proceedings. In that one case of Glasgow, the resolution was communicated to me in a letter, stating that £500 had been at once paid, after a meeting, for a present, and desiring to know in what form it would be most acceptable. This required much consideration, as such gifts were liable to be abused. I therefore assembled some friends to discuss the matter—Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, Romilly, and Baring, to whom I added Creevey, because he had expressed himself strongly on a similar subject. Lord Grey was not in town, but I afterwards wrote to him, and he answered as follows:—

* Gascoigne the Corporation, and Tarleton the Whig, member for Liverpool.

† The Hon. George Eden, afterwards the second Lord Auckland. He was Governor-General of India, and in 1839 was created Earl of Auckland. Subsequently he was First Lord of the Admiralty; and died unmarried in January 1849.

‡ The Hon. George Lamb, brother of William Lord Melbourne.

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *August* 1, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I conclude this will find you at Durham, and I cannot help repeating my hope that your business will allow you to give us a day or two. We shall be happy to see Mr Strickland with you, and any other person that you can bring, particularly George Lamb and Eden.

"Since I came home I have looked at the Birmingham resolutions, as well as those of the other places which have commenced in a resolution to give you some mark of their gratitude for your exertions in procuring the repeal of the Orders in Council. I really see nothing in the resolutions which need put you under any difficulty. To say that, if you accept, there will be nobody found to blame you, would perhaps be too much. You stand in much too prominent a situation not to have detractors ready to seize any occasion, right or wrong, to attack you. If you have gained great reputation and much well-deserved approbation on the one hand, you may be sure that you have excited some envy and ill-will on the other. But I am convinced no fair and reasonable man could find fault with you for not refusing an acknowledgment of public service which comes to you in the most honourable way, and quite unsought for.

"Both Grenville and I accepted from the Catholics of Glasgow a piece of plate—of no great value indeed—after we were turned out in 1807. I have thus given you my unbiassed opinion; but if you still feel scruples, I can only add, that it is impossible to err on the side of delicacy with respect to matters of this nature.

"Canning's negotiation is off, I hear, on some petty point of personal arrangements—the particulars I have not heard; but it will be on again, and I have little doubt that he will be in office before the opening of next session. He is vehemently desirous of office. The ministers must feel the necessity of strengthening themselves in the House of Commons to secure their own possession, and with these mutual inducements to accommodation, personal difficulties will in all probability be surmounted. Ward, I hear, has declared himself a follower of Canning in form. If he prefers office to a character for public principle and consistency, he has acted wisely. I have heard no other news of any kind that you will not see in the papers. If you cannot come now, do not deprive us of the hope of seeing you before your return to London.—Ever yours, "GREY."

Those whom I consulted in town, all but Creevey, held that it would be squeamish, and open to the charge of affectation, if I refused, as it was no offer of money. But Creevey agreed with me in thinking that it might be open to the observation that it was money's worth if taken in what could be converted into money, or if taken in things which were useful, whereby the purse was saved. Erskine dwelt on the gift long after the service performed, and compared it to a counsel receiving a present after a cause was gained, which, however, he was aware, we held to be irregular, and liable to objection; and I rather think we referred to Topping's refusal of a retainer of 1000 guineas in the Baltic risk cases, which he said would imply that for the ordinary retainers of five guineas he would not equally

do his duty. The result of our deliberations was, that I should refuse to accept anything which I could have any idea of ever purchasing; and I therefore, in returning my thanks for the kindness of the Glasgow men, said that I would only take it in the form of a gold inkstand. I heard no more of it for nearly five years, and supposed that the person in whose hands the money was, had failed. In 1817, when a deputation waited on me with the service of plate which Birmingham had voted in 1812, one of them (I think Attwood) said he desired it to be understood that this had reference to the Orders in Council of 1812, and to nothing that had passed since. I called back another of the deputation to ask whether anything in my conduct subsequently had displeased my friends, as I conceived that the defeat of the income-tax in 1816 had been of more general importance than even the success of 1812. But the answer was, that the spokesman's firm were bankers to the receiver of the county, and had suffered by the diminution of his balance from the defeat of the tax. Happening the day after to see Dr Shepherd, I recited this as a remarkable anecdote, when he said that perhaps I had never understood why the Glasgow gold inkstand never reached me. He stated that, on the refusal of the offer to return one and one (Canning and me), and the increase of the expenses, the committee on our side had taken the very unwarrantable step of writing to Glasgow, that the best application of the fund subscribed was sending it to Liverpool, in order to meet the expenses of my election. And this was done at the very time when they had refused nearly three times as much on my urging them to take it from me. This conduct was extremely blamable—

not the writing to Glasgow, which was only a want of proper delicacy, but the not informing me, both that I might have the option of receiving the gift voted, paying the price, and especially suffering the Glasgow men to remain under the imputation of not performing their promise to me.

There was much resemblance between this Liverpool popular proceeding and the generous intentions of Queen Caroline eight years after; and the parallel shows how little courtly and popular levity and want of consideration may occasionally differ.

Upon the defeat of the bill for divorcing the Queen, I waited upon her to communicate the event, and tender my congratulations. She said, "There is a sum of £7000 at Douglas Kinnaird's" (her banker's), "which I desire you will accept for yourself, giving £4000 of it to the other counsel." This I of course refused, saying that we all received, or should receive, the usual fees, and could not take anything further. She insisted on my telling my colleagues, which I said I should, as a matter of course, but that I was certain they would refuse, as I had done. Next day, when I again waited upon her, she recurred to the subject, and asked if I had told them that she laid her commands upon us. I said I had told them so distinctly, and that they all refused with the greatest respect, and a full sense of her kind intentions. She asked what could be the reason of it all; and I endeavoured to explain that professional etiquette made it impossible. She still was disconcerted, and said lawyers were unaccountable people. A few weeks after, Kinnaird, when he took his account to her, suggested that the salaries of her law officers were in arrear, never hav-

ing been paid. She refused peremptorily to have them paid, saying the Queen must pay her debts before she pays her Attorney and Solicitor General. The sum due was under £200, and she had been pressing £7000 upon us! This arrear, as well as all the other professional emoluments, but on the ordinary scale, were paid by the Treasury after her death, among the expenses of the cause. In consequence of the absurd reports spread in the country that a room at Brougham had been built by the Queen after the trial (there having been not a room built, but only a battlement added to a very ancient room), I may add, that I never received any present whatever from her, except a magnificent copy of Dante (the great Florentine edition), on which Dr Parr wrote an inscription that has been the subject of much criticism.

I have mentioned the votes of plate in different parts of the country. They were chiefly of things which I should not have thought of buying, being, with the exception of the Birmingham service, more for show than use. From other places there were cups of various kinds, and from Huddersfield a pair of blankets which I handed over to my friend Whitbread, as a present to his daughter Elizabeth, just about to be married to William Waldegrave. On the Reform Bill passing in 1832, there was a penny subscription for four silver-gilt cups to be presented to Grey, Althorpe, John Russell, and myself. In those days the practice said to have prevailed latterly, of distributing shares in railway and other companies among members of the two Houses, had not been discovered; and as the shares bore a premium at the time of distribution, a more objectionable practice cannot

be imagined. I have known members of both Houses reject the offer with indignation; but some there were who accepted them, justifying the practice by contending that it was nothing more than the custom of giving shares of loans to different persons; but if these were given to any one having a discretion in settling the terms of the loan, it would be liable to the same objections as giving shares to members while the bill was in progress through Parliament. The only time I ever held any shares, except in University College, was when, a qualification being required as a director in a company got up for the benefit of the negroes, I purchased the number required at a considerable loss of money.

Among the patriotic gifts for services in regard to the Orders in Council and commercial policy generally, as well as respecting the income-tax, but certainly not on account of the negroes and the abolition of the slave-trade as well as slavery, may be reckoned the kindness of a very respectable man in the county of Durham, Mr Shakespeare Reed, who, about the year 1828, wrote to inform me that he had, after providing for his widow and his near relations, left me his property in consideration of my public services. I inquired about this good man of my friend Lambton (Lord Durham), and found that he was a very wealthy person; but, from my friend's way of talking, evidently not agreeing with him in county politics. A few years after, I received a letter, in which he called upon me, from the relation he said subsisting between us, as his heir, to put down "the political set of pretended philanthropists who were seeking the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies." He appealed to me, on the above-

mentioned consideration, "to use my influence, official as well as personal, to put them down; for, said he, I can assure you that the peasantry on your estate in Barbadoes are fully better off than those on your Durham estates," so little had he understood our English history. I answered that "I was sorry to say he had applied to a wrong quarter; for that I was one of the principal leaders of those whom he wanted to put down. But I hoped he would form a better opinion of us and of our measures, by reading the report of the House of Lords' committee, under my friend the Duke of Richmond," which I sent him, as it had just been printed. I received no answer, and concluded that he had altered his will. He died in 1837, and I have since found that my conjecture was well founded. His will was made seven years after our correspondence.

The state of our relations with America had become exceedingly alarming, in consequence of the delay in recalling the Orders in Council, and the manner of the recall. There appeared in the United States Government signs of a disposition to precipitate a rupture. Letters I received at this time from my ally, Baring, showed how much he shared in the alarm. The following gives also the course which he recommended our commercial and manufacturing bodies to take:—

FROM ALEXANDER BARING.

"CARSHALTON, *August* 1, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—Since you wrote your letter you will have seen the American declaration of war, which renders the situation of our traders more embarrassing. I am obstinate in my opinion that the

repeal will set everything right; but it is just possible that as we were foolish enough to expose our dependence by our evidence, the Americans may think this an opportunity to force other conditions upon us, or at least to make the experiment before they give way. The known weakness of the Government, the pressure of the insurgent manufacturers, the supposed, and I fear real, dependence of the Peninsula for food, are temptations which may catch them; and I fear that the eagerness with which our people have shipped will increase this temptation. The Americans will think that we shall be obliged to gain admittance for our shipments at any price; and this is a point in which they can bear a little hesitation better than we can. The satisfaction expressed by Opposition on the other hand, and their promise of resistance in case of further encroachment, will be of great service; and, upon the whole, my hopes preponderate over my fears. Much, indeed everything, will depend on able and skilful negotiation; it is a great point to get the shipments admitted, but still more essential to make no extravagant sacrifice for it. I fear our instrument for this purpose is very unequal to the task, and the Cabinet here not likely to make a fit choice, should they make any change.

"I should think that the best course for you to take, if I may advise, would be to recommend to your friends the manufacturers to show a disposition to support Government in resisting *unreasonable* encroachments; taking care to watch their confidence, that it does not encourage them to be unreasonable in their turn. The manufacturers may rely upon it that their interest will be better answered permanently by

conciliatory firmness than by absolute concession, which will invite further encroachment, and at last bring you, as the Russians will be brought, to a point where, *nolens volens*, a stand must be made. I *am quite* CERTAIN that, the Orders repealed in the way they are, the Government in America will be obliged to yield, whatever show they may at first make; and as I believe the other concessions required (especially the search for seamen) to be such as we should not make, it is even the safest course for the manufacturers (considering their interest in the narrowest sense) here to stand by the Government. This is my view of the case. If you should concur with me, your advice may be of great service, and give a tone where you now are. I do not think Maddison could support his war, or keep his ports closed, one fortnight after our repeal reaches America. I confidently expect that no attempt ever will be made. An embargo, you will see, has taken place; which, upon the whole, I think fair. We must not appear frightened, but at such a period we should have a minister of the very first power in America; not to plan foolish projects to dismember the Union, but to take care that the people are properly and *plausibly* informed of the intentions of his Government, &c. &c. It would indeed be a treasure in such a time if Government had sense enough to tempt you to their assistance, but I fear they will go on without change. You will see the 'Morning Chronicle' abuses Maddison's paper. I think it is a good performance, and not too querulous for an enumeration of grievances, which it professes to be. Nor do I think the Americans were wrong in striking their blow; they had waited many months for different

political changes, and you must recollect that their embargo left them no choice but of yielding or advancing. But I shall think them quite in the wrong if they persist after our repeal reaches, and I shall be much surprised if they do. I hope the manufacturers smother you with attentions, and are duly sensible how much they are your debtors.—Yours, A. B.

"*P.S.*—I have confidence in the Russian money system, *mais nous verrons.*"

With reference to the suggestion that I should go to America, I wrote thus to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"*August* 8, 1812.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I consulted you about Liverpool, my own feeling being against moving in it at all; but all I have heard since is very favourable, and to-day I hear from Lord Sefton that the leading man of the corporation has written to him that *my* success is certain.

"Connected with this is another matter, which you will think, I daresay, is somewhat Quixotic. I made a formal offer to go out to America to negotiate the present matter, conceiving that my conducting the negotiation would extremely hamper the war party and encourage the peace party in America. My proposition was laid before the prince, and from Castlereagh's answer it appears that the prince is the cause of its being for the present rejected; which, of course, means altogether. The terms in which this is conveyed to me are quite civil, and even more; but ministers had better *now* make it up with America,

for the merchants and manufacturers will in no other way be satisfied. As a proof of this, I have letters from all the towns—Birmingham, Liverpool, London, Glasgow, &c.—urging me to endeavour to go, and saying that it is the only way to settle it.—Most truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

To this Lord Grey answered as follows:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *August* 10, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am extremely disappointed at not seeing you here, but I trust to your remembering your promise after Lancaster, and paying us, I hope, a longer visit than your business at this time would probably have permitted.

"I really do not know how to advise about Liverpool, the expediency of embarking in an affair of that nature depending on so many considerations which I have very imperfectly before me. From what you state of the matter, I should say that whether we can carry one or two, if a seat is offered to you on your own principles, perfectly unfettered, and without any engagement or connection with any other party, I can see no reason for your refusing it, provided the probabilities of success, without too great an expense, are such as satisfy you. On the other hand, if by a compromise which is to bring in you and Canning it is meant that you should in any degree assist, or engage your friends to assist, his election, I am as decidedly of opinion that it would be better, for a thousand reasons, to decline it.

"I must confess I was a little surprised at what

you say of your offer to go to America. If I had been previously apprised of your intention, I should have endeavoured to dissuade you from it. As it is, it is not worth while to say more on the subject than that I think you have had a lucky escape.—Ever yours truly, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"NEWCASTLE, *August* 18, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I could convince you in five minutes by the clock that I had no choice; but I quite agree with you, I have had a great escape: not only so, but that it puts our attack on very high grounds if the negotiation fails; which, however, I think extremely unlikely.—Yours ever, H. B."

The following letter is to my friend Dr Shepherd:*

TO DR SHEPHERD.

"GATEACRE, LIVERPOOL, LANCASTER,
Tuesday, Aug. 25, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received yours of the 21st, which went to Brougham, and followed me here. I take it for granted Mr Roscoe may have explained to you my idea of the propriety of postponing the dinner, in case bad news from America should arrive before the beginning of September. My notion is founded on the belief that the cause would suffer by such an untoward coincidence—that we might expose ourselves to the ridicule of, not merely the enemy, but the *neutrals*; and that it would be more comfortable,

* The Rev. William Shepherd, author of 'The Life of Poggio Bracciolini.'

as well as more dignified, to keep our feast at the right time. If indeed there is war with America, notwithstanding the repeal of the Orders; if our labours are all in vain, and peace must be delayed till we have fought other battles next session of Parliament,—it is only a blessing deferred, for we have substantially carried the day; but we ought in this case to reflect how serious an evil the delay itself is, though it can only be short if we bestir ourselves. We should consider all that is past as nothing, and gird our loins and hearts as if the whole were only beginning; and instead of triumphing, our note should be dolorous, both in point of truth and policy. Should the war be confirmed (at least for the present) at or about the time of our meeting to celebrate a peace (nine-tenths of the expected fruits of our last success), we might indeed expect to hear quoted on us, or might fairly cite ourselves, 'O falsam spem! O volucres fortunas!—O cæcam cupiditatem!—O præposteram gratulationem!—quam cito illa omnia ex lætitiâ et voluptate in luctum et lacrymas reciderunt!'—(*Pro Sylla.*)

"Now, I own, my rule being, *before* the moment of action, always to prepare for the worst, and *in* the moment itself to listen to nothing but confidence and hopes, I am always (in every situation) as gloomy while planning as I am resolute in shutting my eyes to the dark side while executing. Therefore I am now, and have been for some time past, preparing for the worst—I hope without any great reason; but it is safest.

"Everything, however, will depend on the opinion of those upon the spot; for I am speaking at a distance, and in generals. Therefore I send by this post

a letter to Mr Roscoe, to be published, if necessary or advisable, according to the news at the proper time. I sincerely hope it may be unnecessary; and if the flag of truce brings the news, as stated in the Sunday papers, it must be so. One word more as to this great question of American war. Though I feel anxious on it, to an unspeakable degree, yet, when I reflect on the history of the country and its follies, I really cannot deny that we should richly deserve it, if it does happen; and should the dispute finally hinge on the *impressment of seamen*, without being superstitious, I shall almost call it a judgment.—Ever yours most truly, H. B."

After the summer circuit in 1812, I had some correspondence with Wilberforce upon various subjects —not the least interesting of which were Parliamentary Reform, the slave-trade, and his own idea that he was not strong enough to give the same time and attention he had formerly bestowed on his Parliamentary duties, and consequently that he began to think it a duty to his Yorkshire constituents to retire from the representation of that county.

"SANDGATE, *Sept.* 23, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I was just sitting down to state to you the cause of your not sooner receiving an answer to your former letter—viz., that I had been on the ramble for nearly a fortnight, taking my boys to their respective schools—when I received this morning your favour of the 19th inst. From our earliest acquaintance you have accustomed me to expect from you all that is kind and friendly; and, therefore, how-

ever gratified by the letter now before me, I cannot be surprised at it. But habit will not, I trust, in this instance, have the effect of blunting the sensibility of my feelings; at least it has not hitherto done it; on the contrary, I have at this moment a deep sense of your kindness, and I beg you to accept my best thanks for it; and I assure you I know the value of your offers of service, which, at the very time when you might fairly be supposed, without the imputation of selfishness, to be fully occupied in your own concerns, you make me with so much friendly zeal. But the die is cast. I will frankly state to you all the circumstances of the case. For considerably above a year I have been deliberating, together with two or three particular friends, whether on any dissolution of Parliament I had not better resign my present situation, and accept the kind offer of a dear friend, and, through marriage, a near relative, to bring me in for a seat which would not impose on me the obligation of such constant attendance as I deem to be my duty so long as I remain member for Yorkshire.

"Two considerations chiefly led me to entertain this proposal. First, that I began to find my load a little too heavy—in short, I began to feel that I grew older; and, secondly, that my six children claimed more of my time and thoughts than I could spare them while in my present station. The rumours of an approaching dissolution forced me to make up my mind, and at length I decided to retire from the county. I will fairly, however, confess to you—and I hope that I shall not thereby subject myself to the imputation of extraordinary vanity—that the reports of an intended opposition, especially when it was

rumoured that a certain affluent nobleman meant *again* to propose his son, instead of disposing me to resign, produced, and very strongly, the directly opposite feelings. For believing, as I do, that a decided majority of the freeholders would be friendly to me, I should resent with indignation the idea of any nobleman being suffered to force his son into the representation of such a county as ours, by the terrors of his purse, against the will of the majority. I also believe, as you seem to do, that there was no chance of any serious opposition, had I offered myself a candidate, especially taking into account your friendly zeal for me, and the Duke of Norfolk's obliging offer of support and influence with the Whig party.

"But I can truly assure you that my determination was formed without the slightest reference to the probability of a contest; and it scarcely seemed to be right for me to be piqued into deviating from the course which otherwise I had resolved to pursue, sanctioned by the counsel of several of my best and dearest friends.

"*Between ourselves also, and in confidence,* I will also acknowledge that I have not relished what appeared to me not unlikely to be the consequence of my retiring, that the representation of our county might fall into the hands of two rich and powerful noblemen, who, once tasting the sweets of a quiet election, in which each returned one member, might be tempted to come to some understanding which might be injurious to the independence of our county. Still, what was to be done? I have not—indeed I never had, my dear Brougham—without a compliment, your strength either of body or mind; and now, at

fifty-three, I really begin to be conscious that I am growing older. And as Quin said he would not whistle Falstaff for any man, so I should be sorry to continue clinging to my situation without attending as assiduously as I have been used to do. I once thought of frankly stating to the county that I could not be quite so constant an attendant, but that if they chose to elect me on that understanding, I would continue to serve them as well as I could; but, on reflection, this appeared too presuming in *me* to propose; though, had it come from the opposite party, the case would have been different. I am scribbling in great haste and much confusion, owing to our happening to be what we call in Yorkshire—and probably you in Cumberland—flitting, after being three months in the same house; and though we are moving to another in the same place, it is no light piece of work to a man who has rather a faculty for heaping together, wherever he is, a pretty ample store of books and pamphlets, &c. &c. I am writing, too, against time, for the letters here go to the post between three and four, and it is now much past three. I had various subjects on which I wished to write to you, more especially on the pleas suggested in the article on Parliamentary Reform in the last 'Edinburgh Review,' which I conceive must be yours, on the same ground as I conceive several others in the same Review to be yours—viz., that I know not who else can have written them; and I know you never plead *alibis*, if I may so express it, or conceive it is any reason why you may not do a twentieth thing that you have already nineteen others on your hands.*. As you be-

* In the 'Edinburgh Review' for July 1812:—
Vol. XX., art. viii. 'A Letter to H. Brougham, Esq., M.P., on the sub-

speak my attention to the Tythes proposition (and certainly any plan of yours must claim my best attention), do let me beg you not to make up your mind hastily concerning the best mode of taking the poll in counties. There is, I grant, one difficulty in the way of having the poll taken at the same time in different places—that which arises out of the duties and powers of the returning officer; still that difficulty might be got over, and then that plan, for a thousand reasons, is preferable to that of an ambulatory sheriff.

"I feel strongly the evil of giving up the general assemblage of the freeholders, and I should like to try to preserve some public meetings. But I must break off quite abruptly, only once more thanking you most cordially for the truly friendly treatment of me. I don't know where the Duke of Norfolk is, but if you write to him, I beg you to express to him my best acknowledgments. — Believe me, my dear B., yours most sincerely, W. WILBERFORCE.

"Do remember, once for all, that my direction is always London."

"SANDGATE STREET, N. FOLKESTONE,
Sept. 24, 1812.

"MY DEAR B.,—I scarcely know what I wrote, or did not write, yesterday; in much haste and bustle did I scribble, but I am pretty sure that I

ject of Parliamentary Reform. By William Roscoe, Esq.' 'A Letter to W. Roscoe, Esq., occasioned by his Letter to Mr Brougham on Parliamentary Reform. By J. Merritt.'

The article Wilberforce refers to was certainly, as he guessed, written by me. The only other article which I wrote in the same number was art. v.—"On the Reports of the African Institution."

omitted to inform you, first, that I would write to Lord Bathurst about Parke's 'Journal' in the way you suggested; and, secondly, that there is a mistake, and a very material one, in the statements respecting the expenses of my great contest. These were not above £26,000 or £27,000, at least under £30,000. The whole sum subscribed was about what was stated to have been spent, about £56,000 to £58,000. But nearly £50 per cent was returned to the subscribers, a new phenomenon in the history of elections. It was before *nulla retrorsum*.

"I doubt, also, if I expressed as strongly as I felt it my sense of your kindness. I certainly did not state what I now do, that I wish much you would express to the Duke of Norfolk how greatly I feel honoured and gratified by his friendly countenance. I say it sincerely, not as words of course. I don't think I mentioned that I was confirmed in my persuasion that Lascelles intended to start for York, by his offering himself for Pomfret, canvassing the place, running horses at the races—all things very distasteful, and therefore indicative of his being in earnest. In short, I repeat it, I never believed he would offer for York, and the fear of a contest had no share whatever in making me resign. I will confess that I did once think of asking my constituents, on the ground of long service, to grant me a dispensation from constant attendance, authorising me to absent myself except when county business or important questions should claim my attendance; but this, though really very reasonable for them to grant, might not have appeared very decent for me to ask, so I laid aside the idea.

"I have much to say to you, both about your affairs

and my own, and it really seems very selfish in me to be occupying so much of your time with my concerns, when you must naturally be occupied with your own. But I know you are a contradiction to your great law about a body not occupying a place till a former occupier has left it, and I may act on that presumption. I will, however, assure you of my best wishes for your happiness and honour.

"May you be as great and as useful, and as great because truly useful, as your own heart, or they who love you best, can desire.—I am, in extreme haste, ever yours, W. W."

After I left the circuit I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 10, 1812.

"I arrived here yesterday, and leave it on Saturday, having thus not had one week of holiday since last October; but I shall have plenty soon, in all probability.

"Is not Jack Calcraft's conduct rather singular?*

* The Right Hon. John Calcraft of Kempsthorne, county Dorset, M.P. for Rochester and Wareham, born 1766, succeeded to estates in county Dorset, purchased by his father, who was an eminent army agent.

In the Whig Government of 1806 Calcraft was Clerk of the Ordnance, and in 1828 Paymaster of the Forces in the Duke of Wellington's Government from June 1828 till November 1830, when he was succeeded by Lord John Russell.

On the second reading of the Reform Bill he voted against his party and for the Bill, which was at that stage carried by a majority of one; and the supposition that it was by his single vote fatally affected his spirits.

His property in the district gave him the command of the borough of Wareham. After his death his son sat for it; but his grandson, the present proprietor, was beaten by his neighbour, Mr Erle Drax, who now sits for Wareham.

After I had given him a full release, in consequence of what I wrote to you about, he wrote to refuse it, saying he considered everything as on the original footing. The next time I heard from him was to tell me of the dissolution. I only wrote to say I was going to Liverpool, that my friends were sanguine, and that I was not. Indeed I never thought it at all likely we should carry two until I went there, and then the first part of the election damped me again. Well, I have heard nothing since; and two men, evidently *purchasers*, are returned for Wareham! This seems unaccountable, except on the belief of his pecuniary matters having suddenly taken a bad turn. I shall believe the best, for I am sure he meant to act well.

"Romilly, Tierney, Lamb, &c. being out of Parliament is a great imputation on some of our friends. They must not hereafter talk of the fickleness and wrong-headedness of the people, nor even of the great sin of not being wholly party-men; for these professors of party-attachments have no sort of scruple to dissolve the regular Whig interest, or leave it with one single leader in the House of Commons, rather than forego the gratification of giving some cousin or toad-eater a power of franking letters! This is their love of the Whig cause, and the constitution and party. When it costs them nothing, they can profess it; but any, even the smallest sacrifice, they do not care to have anything to do with it. I hope I may be mistaken, but at present I see nothing in our affairs that does not look like a triumph of the Prince, the ministers, and, above all, Canning, who will make his own terms with either side. This is more than a compen-

sation for the great damage he has sustained by going to Liverpool.—Believe me ever most sincerely yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

While at Brougham I received a letter from Mr Roscoe, from which the following is an extract:—

"LIVERPOOL, *September* 21, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,— . . . . . Yesterday we had a meeting of between twenty and thirty of your friends, at which Lord Sefton was present. It was finally resolved to propose you and Creevey, as well in the expectation of putting in two members as for furthering your interest in case one only should be carried. As soon as the dissolution is announced you will receive a formal, and, I doubt not, you will think a respectable, invitation.

"We also resolved to call a public meeting for to-day, by advertisement, at the great room at the Golden Lion, from which I am just returned. I went at ten minutes after twelve—the hour appointed—and found the room *quite full*,—certainly not much less than one thousand persons. Being called to the chair, I stated the determination of your friends to name you and Mr Creevey. This was received with the highest applause. I put you both to the show of hands, which was unanimous, and requested them to confirm it by three times three, which was vociferated in *grand style*. J. B. Yates, Martin, and Richardson addressed the meeting, which separated in the highest good-humour, with a few words from me to show themselves as ready to make their appearance at the hustings as they had been ready to come forward at the meeting.

"In short, I can only say that everything looks favourable to the cause. Canning is, I understand, to be one of your opponents, but this will neither dishearten your friends nor yourself.—I am, my dear sir, ever faithfully yours, W. ROSCOE."

About this period the following letters passed between Lord Grey and me:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *September* 21, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have received your letters, with their accompanying enclosures. You may be assured that not a hint even shall escape me which can in any degree prejudice your interest at Liverpool. I have heard nothing more of Tarlton, nor do I know whether he persists in his intention of coming here; but I think it very probable that the rumours of dissolution now so generally prevalent may take him to Liverpool. In the letter he wrote to me he said that the extraordinary conduct of Brougham and Derby at Liverpool made him anxious to talk with me on that subject, and that he would come within the next ten days to Howick for that purpose. As it was necessary to say something in answer, I said that I should be glad to see him; that I had seen an account of the dinner at Liverpool, at which it did not appear that you had said or done anything with a view to a new election, but that, if you should become a candidate, there could be no doubt that Derby and all the friends of Opposition must support you against Gascoigne. I thought it best to express myself in this manner, as I certainly wished to avoid wounding Tarlton unneces-

sarily. The ten days are elapsed, and I have heard no more. If he should come, or if he should write to me again so as to give me a fair opening, I could suggest as my own wish, which would follow naturally from what I have already said, the expediency of his opening a communication with your friends.

"If Liverpool fails, I shall be anxious to hear that you have a resource. Have you given up Calcraft's seat? I see no reason why you should, and I will hope not. I have received no further communication with respect to the seat I mentioned to you, so I suppose the person to whom it was offered has accepted. I only wish to have the means pointed out to me by which I can be of any use, for I can assure you with the greatest truth there are few political events that I should lament so much as your being out of Parliament, or to prevent which I would use greater exertions. Many of our friends are, I fear, unprovided for, and amongst the rest Tierney. Buying seats is now out of the question, and I have come to the same determination as Romilly, to have nothing to do with any transaction of that nature.

"Every account I receive confirms those which had reached me before of the determination of Government to dissolve; but in a letter which I received last night the King is stated to be so ill that this determination will probably be suspended. It undoubtedly would be a very awkward thing if he was to die before the writs are returnable, or even after the new Parliament should be assembled, before any bill could be passed to provide against such an event. Perhaps, under all the circumstances, there never was a moment in which dissolution was less to be justified.

"I return the Princess's letters in another cover, and also B.'s.—I am, dear Brougham, ever yours very truly, GREY."

"HOWICK, *September* 23, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—Tarlton came here yesterday, and left us again this morning. He is going first to Lowther, and then to Liverpool, on account of the dissolution.

"I had a good deal of conversation with him, but when all summed up it does not come to much. He is naturally, after his contests, annoyed at the idea of another. He seems to think the alarm taken by the Church-and-King people, and by the Corporation, at the attempt of Roscoe and his friends, as manifested at the dinner, to bring in two members, will produce a great deal of trouble, expense, and difficulty; that they certainly will start a candidate whose opinions are more congenial to their own; and that with this view an application had been made to Canning, who had answered that he was ready to stand if he could be insured against expense. I suggested the expediency of some communication between your friends and his. He professed himself personally well disposed towards it, but seemed to feel the same apprehension that you do of the consequence of taking any direct or public step for that purpose. He said naturally enough that he must look in the first place to his own interest; but that he should be glad to do anything he could consistently with that object, and without prejudice to it, to assist you. Roscoe he seems to think very hostile personally to him. All this, as you will see, comes to very little, and I did not

think there was any use in pushing the matter further, ignorant as I am of the local interests, and fearful as I must be, in a case of this nature, of doing more harm than good. You may be assured that in all I said I took especial care to guard against the possibility of his supposing that I spoke with any authority from you. The suggestion I have mentioned I made as entirely from myself; and of you I only said, always professing my personal anxiety for your success, that you must naturally feel gratified by the confidence and approbation of such a body of people as appeared to support you at Liverpool; that a seat offered on such terms must be acceptable to you, but with respect to your ultimate decision I was ignorant; and that it must necessarily depend upon the manner in which it was offered, and on the probability of success. I hope this was safe at least. I cannot help feeling very anxious that your success may not be found incompatible with his. He has not behaved well in politics, but I must beg of you the same secrecy with respect to what I have said about Tarlton, that I shall myself observe on the same subject."

. . . . . .

To this I returned the following answer:—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 28, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have received your letter, and you may depend on my not saying a word relative to its contents.

"We shall be dissolved in to-morrow night's Gazette, I take it for granted.

"A meeting was held on Wednesday of my leading

friends at Liverpool. Lord Sefton attended, and they resolved that both Creevey and I should be started. This measure they describe as necessary, even if they only succeed for one of us (which of course would be myself). I cannot enter into all their details, but I conclude that the connections of *both* the other candidates may have made this step requisite.

"Yesterday a public meeting was held by advertisement, and at ten minutes after the hour named, when Roscoe arrived, the rooms were filled. One thousand were present; and they all, in one voice, adopted the nomination of me, as first, and Creevey to stand with me. They gave the loudest and most unqualified support to it. And as soon as the dissolution is made public, there is to be a formal invitation, as I mentioned before.

"It is in vain to conceal the thing from myself any longer. I am in for it, and accordingly I shall go through it as if it were a matter of life and death. There is no medium in such cases. I speak on the supposition, of course, that a proper case shall be made out. Another thing, I fear, is likely, though not quite so certain—viz., that each party will return one, and that I shall be returned with a Tory, if I am returned at all. This is really painful, and I may fairly and sincerely say that the sitting with Canning would greatly alloy any gratification I might otherwise reap from it, and that the return of Gascoigne and *Tarlton*, as before, would greatly alleviate my disappointment. In truth, I shall feel very little, at any rate; for though I must go through it, *à toute outrance*, when once committed, I shall be anything rather than cast down, if I fail.

"Respecting Tarlton, I feel exactly as you do, liking the man, and heartily grieved, should he be turned out. But I hope he perceives (if not, I should be really obliged to you to let him feel) how entirely passive I am in all this.

"Beggars must not be choosers, says the proverb; and when, from whatever motive, the Liverpool men set me up for nothing, and with infinite zeal in my favour, I really have not a shadow of right to prescribe whom they shall join with us. Let but Creevey's case become desperate, as I have written to him, and if *I can by possibility show* my predilection for Tarlton, both *you* and *he himself* may rely on my doing so. Could you contrive to let him know these my sentiments? and believe me ever yours, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *Sept.* 29, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I am now in for it, having waited till the last moment, and have sent them my formal answer to their address, being the first word I ever spoke or wrote to them on the subject. Their address was certainly most respectable as to signatures. It joins Creevey with me—in order, they say, to secure me; but if all the other four stand, *we* must both of us come in. You know, I presume, that Congreve, the rocket-man, stands on the Prince's interest!! This is really of itself an inducement to fight it. But what has most weighed with me is my dislike of being all at once thrown out of Parliament in the middle of my pursuits there; and I concluded, from your doubting if even Tierney could find a seat, that there was *no chance* for me. Indeed I have no possible claim.

Well, now I am fairly started, and on Thursday I go from hence to Liverpool, being very slow to get there until it is necessary. I am by no means so sanguine as my friends there are. That the chance is fair, I admit; and if it fails, I don't think I shall be much disappointed. Horner and Jeffrey have been here for some days. Horner says that Lord Lansdowne brings Abercromby in for Calne. I hope he will prefer Romilly, should Bristol fail.—Yours sincerely,

"H. B."

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *Oct.* 1, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—I wish you all possible success, and only regret I have no means of contributing towards it; but I am afraid you will have a troublesome job. I have heard that starting Creevey is likely to do harm; and Derby, I am told, is of that opinion. But the persons on the spot, and conversant with the local interests, must know best.

"A compromise such as you describe will undoubtedly be very disagreeable; and, to be sure, considering the state of politics which has produced your popularity in a great degree at Liverpool, Canning seems to be an odd colleague to choose for you. If your merit is the attempt to reconcile America, what is it that recommends the man who, when Secretary of State, did all he could to produce the mischief which now renders conciliation so difficult?

"All I hear leads me to believe that the ministers will lose more than they will gain in the new elections. Indeed I cannot very well understand their policy in dissolving at this moment. Except that, you may say, though things may be worse for them, they cannot be

expected to be much better. Many of our friends, I am afraid, however, will be out—amongst them some of the oldest and stanchest Whigs, such as Dudley North.

"Pray let me hear, when you have a moment to spare, how you are going on.—Ever yours most truly,

"GREY."

In the Liverpool election Grey took naturally a great interest, and was very sanguine in his expectations of success if we had only tried to carry one. In connection with this subject he wrote to me as follows:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *Oct.* 4, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—Nothing could be more gratifying to me than your letter. I am not good at professions, but pray be assured that all the feelings you express about co-operation in politics are fully returned by me. There is no person with whom I feel a stronger desire to cultivate and secure the closest and most confidential connection, both political and personal, than with yourself: but enough of this.

"It gives me great pleasure to hear that your prospects are so fair at Liverpool. You could not have an opponent against whom I should not wish you success, with very few exceptions indeed; but the opponent you mention will render your triumph doubly gratifying. I suppose the Prince is anxious to make him entirely his own. You know the drawbridge and the rockets were to be the great instruments of security in the new park against the mob. Tarlton

has given me an opportunity of writing to him, and I have said what you wished.

. . . . . .

"I have a letter from Sir Robert Wilson from Smolensko. He refers me to a man who is come over, for information; of this, of course, by my absence from London, I am deprived; but I think, in the little he does say, additional confirmation, if there wanted any, of the hopeless state of the Russian war. He speaks of their troops, however, as being excellent. His letter, or rather note, is dated the 14th, and of course before the last important events. —Ever yours, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"LIVERPOOL, *Oct.* 13, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The enemy fought well, and the result is still very doubtful. Overtures, or half-overtures, of accommodation have been made, but we are so desirous of gaining a complete victory, and of dishing Canning, that these have been rejected, and we are fighting it out. It may last ten days yet—indeed probably will, and a scrutiny after all. The truth is, Canning has got into a d—d scrape; he is dirtied all over by courting the Court mobs; and if he fails after all, he is much to be pitied. H. B.

"*Yesterday's Poll.*

Canning, . . .	722
Brougham, . . .	691
Gascoigne, . . .	673
Creevey, . . .	666
Tarlton, . . .	6"

TO EARL GREY.

"CROXTETH PARK, *Oct.* 16, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have just come here from the Liverpool election, which is over at last. I could have kept it up a week longer, polled 150 more votes, and made the enemy spend £10,000 more (he has, I suppose, spent £20,000 already), but finding myself infinitely popular with both parties, from my manner of conducting it, and preserving the peace of the town in an unprecedented manner (which they ascribe wholly to me), and having not a shadow of chance of beating them, they being already 200 ahead, and having as many unpolled as I had, I gave in with a good grace at 12 to-day; and have had the SATISFACTION of being assured by the enemy how happy they would have been to return me, if we had rested satisfied with one. I do not regret our taking the other choice; we run them amazingly hard. On Sunday last they would have compromised; on Monday they thought themselves quite beaten, and on Tuesday; but on Wednesday things looked up, though Gascoigne only passed me yesterday at one o'clock. The fact is, they all renewed their subscriptions, and said if £50,000 were required they were resolved to do it. They gave twenty and thirty guineas a vote, and the thing was done. Our friends have not spent £8000, and sums are still flowing in from all parts; £400 only an hour ago came from Glasgow, and as much from Hull, and the Birmingham folks swear that they will *buy* me a seat, but of course this is a way of speaking. Indeed, if I cared much for popularity, I may well be gratified, for never was anybody so supported, and the enemy has only the votes; they

who polled against us crying out to us that their hearts were with us, but they dared not. The starting two, inflamed and combined our adversaries, and made the two parties (Corporation and Tories), with a large secession from the Whigs, unite against us. The miracle is our having made such a fight; and they look gloomy on their own victory, because they know to what they owe it.

"You can have no idea of the nature of a Liverpool election; it is quite peculiar to the place. You have every night to go to the different clubs, benefit societies, &c., which meet and speechify. This is from half-past six to one in the morning at least; and you have to speak to each man who polls, at the bar, from *ten to five*. It lasted eight days. I began my canvass three whole days before, and had nine nights of the clubs, besides a regular speech each day at close of the poll. I delivered in that time 160 speeches and odd; and yesterday and to-day, after being beaten, I rallied, and delivered regular speeches to the whole multitude. I had to close with one above an hour long, so you may guess how exhausted I am, especially as I never saw a popular election before, and knew nothing of it.

"The exploits of the Whigs were my chief subjects, and I flatter myself I have done much to reclaim the people there. Yesterday I preached on Pitt's conduct and immorality, which was prodigiously well received; and to-day I concluded with a long profession of adherence to Fox and his friends, with reasons, &c., which was far better taken than I had expected by the people; indeed, perfectly well received, and most extremely well by the upper classes. These two things,

being, of course, the only things I took any pains with, will be put in the paper, and you'll see them. As to any proceeding of a more violent nature, our party had so much the possession of the town, after the first day, that there was no facing us; some scuffles occurred afterwards, but except a throwing of stones (in which young Roscoe and I had narrow escapes), we never were in any danger: some few accidents happened, two or three men being killed, and others severely cut and wounded, but all who knew Liverpool formerly say nothing was ever seen so quiet at an election there. The enemy had a disposition to row me *personally*, and set a broken *slave captain* on me, who acted at Canning's bar, but he found it would not do, and retreated. A man of more respectable description was also set on me, and in consequence of my treating him loudly on the hustings, sent me a letter which reached me just as I was beginning my speech; but having a friend who had joined me here for the purpose, I sent him to say I did not seek a quarrel, but I had not the least wish to avoid one, which produced an ample written apology. These things are, of course, between ourselves, especially the last, as the man is in the Customs, and I should not wish to injure him, believing him to have been set on.

"So now you have as accurate an idea of the humours of the election as if you had seen them, and at a small cost. The zeal of our friends is inconceivable, and in some cases melancholy; one has been in confinement, having actually gone mad; several others have *ruined* themselves; and they have already formed a committee, &c., for bringing me in next vacancy, but we expect no opposition.

"In the mean time I am fairly out of Parliament, which is rather absurd after all that has happened. Calcraft has never written a line to me, which is odd; but he probably reckoned on my coming in here. I am far more concerned for Romilly, and of course you must be annoyed about Tierney. You should write to Lord Thanet, for he seems to have a place kept open; at least so my brother tells me, who conducted it for him at Appleby, and was chaired for old Courtney, who, he says, is only a stop-gap. Lord Thanet, I know, is favourably disposed towards Tierney, and likes him.

"As for William Lamb and Horner, I regret it not; the former does not do much good, and the latter has no chance of living unless he is kept perfectly quiet. This I am sure of, having had him with me nearly a week before I came here, and observed his illness.

"For myself, I can, now that I am out, seriously say, what I wrote to you before it happened, and when my chance was not so bad, that it does not grieve me very much. Don't you think I received in one hour sufficiently bad news—Romilly's losing Bristol, my own loss of Wareham, my failure at Liverpool, and the final rupture with America? I assure you, *speaking* under such circumstances was no pleasant concern. Excuse all these personal details; but I know how great an interest you take in me.—Ever most faithfully yours, H. Brougham."

Although, as I said to Lord Grey, I did not much grieve at the Liverpool defeat, I could not but feel that I had been entirely sacrificed to Roscoe's absurd obstinacy in attempting to carry two members, when

he well knew that the only time the party had ever succeeded in this was when he himself sat for a few months under the Grenville Government, and that he had never ventured to stand again after that Government was turned out the next session. The result of the Liverpool people following his most silly advice was, that I was kept out of Parliament three sessions, when, an accident having put a seat at Lord Darlington's disposal, I was returned for Winchelsea in his interest, and this seat I held for fourteen years, and then sat in the Duke of Devonshire's interest for Knaresborough until I was returned on my own interest for Yorkshire.

CHAPTER XI.

Home and Foreign Politics.

CORRESPONDENCE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—AMERICA AND SPAIN—TRIAL OF THE HUNTS—THE LUDDITES—TRIAL AT YORK—AN ACCIDENT—THE PENINSULAR WAR—THE GREAT BATTLES ON THE ELBE—HOME POLITICS—IMPRESSMENT—THE CONTINENT—BERNADOTTE'S DESIGNS—HOLLAND—HOGENDORP—MADAME DE STAËL—LADY HOLLAND—THE ALLIED ARMIES ACROSS THE RHINE—HOME POLITICS—LORD COCHRANE, BURDETT, AND DOG DENT—PERRY OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE'—THE CONTINENT—OCCUPATION OF PARIS BY THE ALLIES—CONGRESS OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON—THE FRENCH, AND THEIR OBLIVION OF HIM—POSSIBLE FATE OF HIS SUCCESSOR—VISIT TO PARIS—TRAVELLING COMPARED WITH LATER VISITS TO CANNES—WELLINGTON—THE INSTITUTE—LA PLACE—A CONFERENCE WITH CARNOT—ANECDOTES OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE EMPIRE.

GREY had always a less favourable opinion of the Americans than Baring, who was far from being too favourable to them. In the first letter he wrote after the Liverpool election was over he thus expressed himself:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *October* 20, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I last night received your letter of Friday last. I was by the previous accounts prepared to expect the event which it announces, but

by no means reconciled to it; but it is useless to occupy time and paper in vain regrets. Your exclusion from the House of Commons, if it is to continue, I shall consider as an irreparable loss both to your friends and to the public, and nothing must be left unattempted to prevent so great an evil. As far as my efforts can be of any avail, you know they will not be wanting; but you know, also, how unsuccessful they have been in a case in which I was no less interested than yourself. However, after Parliament meets, perhaps some unexpected opening may present itself, and you may be assured it will not be neglected by me. From your account, the exertions required in a Liverpool contest are such as few people could make.

"I always fancied you were too sanguine about America. Knowing the disposition of that Government, I dreaded the effect of their being possessed of the evidence given before the two Houses; and for this the ministers are deeply responsible. In truth, they will have but a sorry budget to lay before the new Parliament. Russia, Lord Cathcart's letters, and even the state of Spain itself, or I am greatly mistaken, will, before these matters come to be discussed, throw a terrible gloom over the success of Salamanca. This Castle of Burgos has already cost us above 1000 men, and will probably cost us as many more before it falls, even if the French do not fight for it, which I think highly probable, as they have an effective force at Pancorbo of 30,000 men; and if they are aware of the nature of ours, which contains only about 11,000 British, I think they will certainly try fortune in another field. I have very detailed and intelligent

accounts from the army, from which I think you would conclude, that if Bonaparte himself were there, or even if the armies in Spain were under one direction, there cannot be the slightest doubt of their having even now, in the Peninsula, sufficient means to compel us to abandon the country. These accounts also state the greatest distress for want of money, which is productive of such evils, that if anything should happen to Lord Wellington, I am inclined to believe we should very soon retire from our present advanced positions, though no very active exertions are made by the enemy.

"Lady Grey desires to be very kindly remembered to you. I wish we could hope, now that your electioneering is over, that you would execute your promised scheme of making an excursion over the hills to Howick.—Ever yours most truly, GREY.

"*P.S.*—I have some strong grounds for suspecting that Moira is going to India."

Like Lord Grey, Horner had been very sanguine, and firmly persuaded that I should succeed at Liverpool: the failure was a great disappointment to him, and that he felt it deeply is evident from the following letter, for Horner was not of a very demonstrative nature, and rarely gave vent to his feelings either in words or writing:—

FROM FRANCIS HORNER, ESQ.

"LINCOLN'S INN, *October* 21, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The event at Liverpool is a bitter and painful disappointment, for which I was

not in the least prepared, having brought myself to consider *your* return at least as almost certain. Added to Romilly's defeat, it is indeed a most mortifying event to all those who care for the public concerns; to me for every reason, public and private. I look upon it as ascertained beyond a question, that your failure is owing entirely to the indiscretion of forcing Creevey with you; another instance, in addition to a thousand, of that wrong-headed, impracticable want of judgment which is so often exemplified in those who are the most earnest friends of liberty, but which in no other instance has been attended with such fatal and mischievous consequences to the interests of that cause. For after all that passed last summer, and still more since you were induced to try Liverpool, it was of the last importance to the popular and true Whig interests that you should have been successful. And now my anxiety is turned to your other prospects of a seat in the new Parliament, which I trust are satisfactory. Wareham, I see, is filled up, but perhaps not without a condition in your favour. If that is out of the question now, the Jockey appears to have innumerable seats; and he might gain immortal honour with the country by appropriating two of them to Romilly and you. I shall be very impatient till I hear that some arrangement, perfectly agreeable to yourself, is made for you. —Ever sincerely yours, FRA. HORNER."

Before the end of October I left Brougham, in order that I might pay a visit to Whitbread and Lady Elizabeth before my November work in London began. On the road I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"GREETA BRIDGE, *October* 24, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your very kind and friendly letter before I set out from Brougham, and I also received some from town which contain intelligence that I am sure will be agreeable to you, if you have not already heard it. Romilly tells me he has a seat in his power, but has not determined whether to come in or not. I have written most strongly to urge it, and Horner also is to be brought in. Of William Lamb I hear nothing new; but George was at our house while I was at Liverpool, and he said that there was a prospect of a seat for William through the Duke of Devonshire. In short, my view of the prospects of the party is not half so gloomy as it was some days ago, and I guess that our borough-owning friends are disposed to behave better than they seemed likely when I last wrote. As to my own case, it is quite a different one, and I have no claims with those who abhor reform, —which, by the way, I am so far from overrating, that I never yet have said anything about it. Your urging anything in my behalf in those quarters without the possibility of serving me, would only expose yourself to odium on my account, and might injure that influence over the party which it is of the utmost consequence that you should possess unimpaired. If Tierney, Romilly, &c., are all safe (which seems now pretty certain), I can very easily be spared. Excuse my freedom of speech; but I really wish to avoid above everything getting you into any difficulty on my account.

"The ministers have a pleasant kind of session before them, and their money matters are likely to be

the pleasantest part of it. The want of specie in Spain is said to be dreadful, and I cannot help thinking, upon the whole, that Lord Wellesley must soon pay a visit to Portugal again. When the ministers dissolved to injure Canning and Wellesley, they reckoned without their host, for it has greatly increased their numbers. They say they have twenty-two in the House of Commons. Canning told me that four seats had been given to them, of which they had not the slightest expectation. He said, '*To me—that is, to Wellesley and me,*' and talked as if their union was quite complete. He as well as Charles Ellis and Lord Granville Leveson seemed to prize their late accession in Ward very highly, and I could not help giving them warning that they might not have a long lease with him.

"Sir William Manners will, if I mistake not, get himself into a scrape. He goes about openly talking of having sold three seats for £18,000, so that nothing is easier than to bring an action against him. This I knew before, but Lord Lonsdale having spoken of it very significantly yesterday, shows me that people have their eyes on it. I think, after all, that it is a bad kind of business, now the law is made. It is quite as bad as usury, which people are apt to think discreditable, though there is but one opinion as to the usury laws.

"I am much obliged to you for the solicitude you express as to my alarm. The alarming symptoms arose from heat, nor am I quite sure that it was groundless, but having a constitution of extreme strength, I threw it off, and though left somewhat exhausted, am in perfect health, and ready in a few days to go through twice as much as I did last winter; but

I am travelling by slow journeys, to make quite sure of being well.—Most sincerely and faithfully,

"HENRY BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 25, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Hunt's trial comes on about the middle of the week after next, and they are in some consternation at Carlton House. Two several attempts have been made to buy him off, but of course in vain; one of them came almost directly from Macmahon soon *after* the trial, put off last July. I feel somewhat anxious about the verdict, but am full of confidence as to the defence and its effects all over the country. It will be a thousand times more unpleasant than the libel.—Believe me most truly yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *Dec.* 8, 1812—4 *o'clock.*

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As I conclude Hunt's trial interests you, I write to say that it came on this morning at nine.* A *full* special jury of twelve was procured with infinite pains, and great bustle and interest excited in town about it. The prosecution was conducted by Garrow (Solicitor-General), and defence by me. Garrow reserved himself in a way quite new, and very cowardly, saying ten words and waiting for me, so that all he said was in reply. I fired for two hours very close and hard into the Prince—on all points, public and private—and in such a way that

* The trial of John Hunt, and of Leigh Hunt (the poet and essayist) on a charge of libel on the Prince Regent in the 'Examiner.'

they *could* not find any opening to break in upon, and were therefore prevented from interrupting me. They tried twice early, but Ellenborough, losing temper, fell into a gross error and was fairly beaten, which gave me the rest of the day pretty easy. In summing up, he attacked me with a personal bitterness wholly unknown in a court, and towards a counsel—who, you know, is presumed, of course, to speak his client's sentiments—most gross and unjustifiable. All the profession are with me, and he is either in a scrape, or next door to it. He coarsely hinted at Lord Holland's having had a Cabinet place, though convicted of adultery, by way of showing that the Prince is not more immoral than his father. In short, he is quite exposed. After all his fury, the jury, to his infinite astonishment, hesitated, and then *withdrew*. I was obliged to leave the court to attend a consultation elsewhere in another cause, so don't know the result, but there is scarcely a chance. I have heard a report of the verdict being soon after given, of guilty; but the retiring is of itself really a victory in the circumstances.—Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"5 *o'clock.*

"*P. S.*—Accounts just received that in twenty or twenty-five minutes (passed by the court in great agitation) they found us *guilty*."

TO EARL GREY.

"*December* 16, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,— . . . . . The news about Bonaparte, though probably much exaggerated, is certainly very important; and the Con-

tinent being open to trade, a vast spring is suddenly given to it.* Sugar is up, from 49s. to 70s.; and even coffee is rising. I fear no ultimate good will come of these things. We shall be mad enough once more to put Bonaparte in the right. We shall not have the sense to offer peace; and he, having sixty millions of subjects, may easily raise half a million more men. Even were he killed or taken (which I don't expect), we should hear of nothing but Bourbons. Add to which, the Prince and his advisers will go mad, and be above every control, unless to-day's advertisement of 'The Book' keeps him in order. It certainly comes rather *apropos*.†

I am much obliged to you for your kind wishes. If anything should come in my way soon, I should certainly jump at it. What frame of mind I may be

* In reference to the retreat from Moscow. Napoleon left the remainder of his army ten days before the date of the letter.

† 'The Book complete, being the whole of the Depositions on the Investigation of the Conduct of the Princess of Wales, before Lords Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough.' The original materials for 'The Book,' which appeared from 1812 downwards in various shapes, was believed to be the documents privately printed for the use of the Prince and his advisers in 1807. Though great pains were taken to repress the circulation of these documents, some got into private hands, and found their way to speculative publishers. "One editor of a newspaper was said to have obtained £1500 for his copy; and several other copies were bought up at £500, £750, and similar sums. The Chancellor in 1808 had issued an injunction against one editor, who declared that he possessed a copy and would publish it. He was restrained under a penalty of £5000, and afterwards sold his copy for an enormous sum."—Lloyd, Mem. of Geo. IV., 306.

In an article on "George IV. and Queen Caroline" ('Contributions to Edinburgh Review,' i. 465), Lord Brougham says: "There is no doubt whatever that 'The Book,' written by Mr Perceval, and privately printed at his house under Lord Eldon's superintendence and his own, was prepared in concert with the King, and was intended to sound the alarm against Carlton House and the Whigs, when a still more favourable opportunity of making a breach with the latter unexpectedly offered itself in the Catholic question."

in at the next dissolution, I really can't tell, for time and other pursuits change one's taste, and one's capacity not less, and I may then have no fancy for either Liverpool or the Westminster patriots.

"I mean to try my profession for a couple of years longer in town; and if I find I succeed, well; if I don't get on a vast deal better than I have done during the last two years, I am not quite so young as to continue leading a disagreeable and unprofitable life in London, when I might enjoy more profit and a thousand times more ease in the country, confining myself to my circuit, on which I am pretty secure of success.—Believe me ever yours most truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

In the spring of 1812 there were great disturbances in many of the manufacturing districts in Yorkshire, particularly in the neighbourhood of Leeds, Sheffield, and Huddersfield. The introduction and extension of machinery in many of the cloth-mills had created an apprehension among the hand-workers that they would be thrown out of employment. They collected in large gangs under the name of Luddites, and made furious attacks upon the mills where the obnoxious machinery had been introduced. The mills were in many cases garrisoned by the men who remained true to their masters; and these, being well armed, succeeded in many cases in effectually repelling the insurgents, some of whom were killed, and many severely wounded, in the attacks. One of the most violent of the attempts was made upon the mill of a Mr Cartwright, near Huddersfield. The mill was successfully defended, but at the expense of many lives on both sides. The military had been called

out, and in some places did considerable execution among the rioters, many of whom were killed. But such proceedings, far from putting a stop to the outrages, had rather a tendency to make the rioters pause in their system of machine-breaking, and resort to acts of personal violence. Thus, a Mr Trentham was shot by two ruffians in passing from his manufactory to his house;—Mr Horsfall, a large manufacturer, was shot dead from behind a wall as he was returning home from Manchester—with many outrages of a like nature.

Late in the autumn, the Government began to take some notice of these violent proceedings, and before the end of December a special commission was sent to York, to try such of the Luddites as had been taken up and committed by the magistrates. It was my fate to be retained on the part of some of the accused parties, and accordingly I proceeded to York at Christmas. After the trials were over I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *January* 12, 1813.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I am just setting off, as the business here is finishing. They are now passing sentence on the convicts.

"There have been several acquittals since I last wrote, and several convictions; but as the *facts* were clearly proved of outrages, &c., the results of the trials were only interesting to the individuals, and could prove nothing more than whether *they* had or not a share in acts clearly proved to have been committed by somebody; therefore I need not trouble you further

as to the details, than to observe that considerably more were acquitted than we had expected.

"As to the material point, of *what it all was*, the opinion I gather from all I have seen in public and private is shortly this: That the apprehension of being ruined by being thrown out of work in consequence of machinery (shears), excited numbers of the croppers (who cut the cloth by hand) to destroy the machinery; that some of the masters may possibly have been encouragers of them; that, to effect this, they did not form any very regular association, but did certainly associate in considerable numbers; that we have no traces of the *oaths* among *these men*, except ordinary oaths to keep certain acts secret after they were committed; and that these acts of violence (130 to 150 being present on one occasion) were confined to Huddersfield, and seven or eight miles round it—I might perhaps rather say one mile. There was little or nothing done after April; the defence of Cartwright's mill and the murder of Horsfall, followed by the introduction of the military, suspended the riots, at least for a time. Meantime a pretty severe example has been made by the judges here, for, three days ago, three of the four murderers of Horsfall were hung in front of York Castle; and fourteen of the rioters will be executed to-morrow or next day. This is wholesale work with a vengeance!—Ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *July* 17, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I rather write now for the purpose of telling you that I know nothing of what is

going on, than in order to give you any information. I have only been twice to the westward of Charing Cross since the day I dined with you at Lord Rosslyn's. One of the times was to see Lord Thanet, who was in town some weeks ago; and I am extremely glad to tell you I never saw him better. His recovery is really one of the very few satisfactory circumstances in these bad times. *She* has, it is said, had a *fausse couche*, which is entertaining enough.

"The people in this place have been crazy about the late victory, and will probably not come to their senses till Lord Wellington begins in November to fall back towards Portugal, which, I presume, a peace in the north, or even, without that, a refitting of his artillery, &c., from the depot at Thoulouse, is very likely to occasion at the usual season.* In the mean time the Prince is resolved to snatch a little popularity for his own share, and has got up a dinner at Vauxhall for the purpose. I hear it is currently reported that the Princess has intimated her intention of going, which has thrown them all into the greatest consternation. What truth there may be in it I can't pretend to say, not having seen her for these two months, and only had any correspondence when some matter relating to her business required it.

"I take the most gloomy view possible of public affairs, being sure that the more melancholy one's forebodings are they are always the more likely to be realised. I presume that the Crown never was so entirely freed from an Opposition since the Revolution; and with all the honesty which is to be found scattered up and down amongst our friends, there is one

* "The late victory," battle of Vittoria.

thing which they seem unanimous in refusing, and that is, to hold together in a compact mass against the Government. Truly things may be said to be desperate when the most unpopular King since James II., at the most alarming crisis, is able to do exactly what he pleases, and by whom. We owe it to his forbearance that Macmahon and Tyrwhitt are not appointed Lord High Treasurer and Lord High Admiral; indeed they would be probably better than Vansittart and Melville, which may be one reason for their not being appointed.

"I can't help being mortified (perhaps more than I should if I had been more aware of the particulars) at seeing the Duke of Devonshire, who is a more independent man than the Prince, led away by 'a fiddle and bowl of punch' (as the lower people say), and dangling at Carlton House. I wish there may be no reason to suspect that they are going to make a great fool of him, but I have heard odd things, and he may be very sure that if he leaves his party, and has the smallest idea of marrying into the family, the '*bourgeois gentilhomme*' (as Lord Thanet justly calls him) will turn round upon him, and bid him recollect that there is some difference between their stations.

"If there is reason for croaking about the Cavendishes, I own that I am a thousand times more mortified when anything is imputed to a far better breed—the Russells. The reason given for giving up the sheep-shearing at Woburn has, I understand, seriously injured the Duke of Bedford's popularity, which I consider to be a great national calamity. He could not probably state the true reason—the expense; and certainly it would not have done to put the saddle

on the right horse, and said, 'The Duchess's cottage requires this further sacrifice;' but I heartily wish he had said nothing at all. Whatever hurts the party in their hereditary heads, is beyond measure detrimental to the cause of Opposition, which, the more hopeless it becomes, should be the more endeared to its well-wishers.

"I may very likely be too desponding, but you are the only person in the world to whom I can get out my croak, more especially upon the last-mentioned point. It is wrong to allow the case to be hopeless while there is life.—Believe me ever yours, most sincerely, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *August* 8, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I quite agree with you as to the views of Canning being in office, of course. My only difference is (and I admit it to be a dangerous ground of arguing in such cases), that I can't conceive any rapacity for office being so great as to make him ruin his character, and run the great risk of ruining his prospects also, by seeking a place the moment after throwing off his encumbrances. That the measure was meant to clear away obstacles, and to bring him into office in the long-run, is plain enough.

"The Speaker's last exhibition is quite capital, and I hope will not be forgotten. The Catholic part of it is most prominent, but I know not that it is the basest. What think you of his having the face to speak of Vansittart's plan as *accelerating* the payment of the debt, when Vansittart himself, in his printed statement, allows that it will *retard* it at the rate of a

hundred millions in the next ten years, and, in truth, only defends it by the impossibility of raising more taxes! His anxiety to get the privilege question over last session in the Lords convinced me he was going to leave his place. He made many applications to us for that purpose, not wishing to petition the Lords himself.—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"*August* 20, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am infinitely obliged to you for your kind inquiries respecting my accident, which turns out next to nothing.* I have had no fever, and no suppuration from the wound, owing, I believe, to the great bleeding at the time and my good habit of body. I have not lost my eye; and though the scalp was cut from the skull for a space extending from the middle of the forehead round to the ear, and including half of the eyelid (though this was not cut through), it has healed by the first intention. My left arm remains nearly useless for the present, whether owing to a wrench or to the havoc among the nerves of the head I can't tell; but Mr Horner—who is so skilful a person that it is almost worth having a hurt to see him operate—don't think it material. In a word, I am as good as new, and have only had the pain and inconvenience to complain of. I expect to leave this to-morrow or next day, and to rejoin the circuit at Carlisle.

"I almost wish I were ill enough to have an excuse

* In going to Carlisle from Newcastle my carriage was turned over, and, in falling, the thick plate-glass of the side window broke upon my head, cutting it across the forehead and eye right to the bone of the skull.

for leaving it and going to Howick, which strongly tempts me, but in reality I have no such excuse.

"I have no news from town, except that the Prince at Brighton associates wholly with his select set—Yarmouth, Lord Fife, Lord Lowther, &c.—and never spoke to Lord Holland.

"Remember me to all at Howick, particularly my companion in distress, Lord Robert, whose accident I am extremely sorry to hear of. I hope he was blooded. —Yours ever most truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"BENTON, *August* 22, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—At length I am allowed to go out, and to leave this to-morrow, though I verily believe I might have travelled in all safety three days ago. I hope Lord Robert has felt no inconvenience from his fall. The forts don't fall, and Soult is in force. It seems highly probable that we shall be soon attacked again, unless Soult can count upon the forts holding out till November, in which case he may remain quiet, and reckon upon our retreating at the usual time.

"The chief interest seems again to be transferred to Germany, where it appears that the armistice is at an end. But I can't quite believe the prodigious news in to-day's 'Chronicle' of Austria declaring war on the 10th; at least on Perry's evidence it is quite incredible, for Bernadotte's bulletin of the 13th takes no notice of Austria at all. The news seems to come from Gottenborg, and no other quarter; and, to say the least, is not probable. If Bonaparte *has* chosen to have Austria against him too, it will show great confidence in his

troops and positions, and must proceed from calculation of the Allied force somewhat different from ours, which are indeed manifestly gross exaggerations. It is useless, as well as endless, to speculate in such a state of things; but *if* he really drives Austria to the side of the Allies, it must be because her demands were nearly as high as she can hope to carry by beating him. Suppose she has said—Retire from Germany, and get behind the Rhine, and give up Italy and Holland, or even Italy without Holland; for to speak of Holland being independent while Belgium is thoroughly French is preposterous. He may naturally enough think that he can retreat upon some such project, after a kind of drawn campaign, or even after having the worst of it. No one can count upon such an army as his being routed when frost is out of the question, and I don't believe even the 'Morning Post,' or the very Regent himself, dreams of attacking France; so that, upon the whole, we are as usual laying in stores of disappointment, upon the most favourable supposition, to say nothing of the chance of his beating them all, and making separate peaces, which I suppose a man had better be hanged at once than drop a hint of.

"Pray give my best remembrances and respects to both the Lady Greys, and to Lady Robert *e tuti quanti*.

"My accident leaves me, after all, a good deal cut up, some parts of my head and face being tender, and others quite numbed and dead, which is far more disagreeable than the pain. But I really must say for this country that it has a most uncommon treasure in Mr Horner, who exceeds anything I ever saw for neatness of hand, besides being very clever and sensible. To be sure, he lives in a district where half the popu-

lation, I suppose, pass through the hospital every year, and part of the remainder die on the way to it. I have been much indebted to the Brigges for their great kindness on this occasion; they are excellent people, both politically and privately.—Yours ever truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 21, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have just heard with the greatest concern of your having had the scarlet fever at Howick, and I am extremely anxious to hear that it has done no mischief.

"I know a good deal of that damnable disease, both from having had it myself twice, and from several of our family having had it in the worst possible shape. I have attended a good deal to the subject of cold effusion, and I beg of you to urge your medical men by all means to try it. They sometimes are afraid, but vaccination is not more demonstrably certain. Romilly's eldest daughter was saved by it. My sister I saw literally restored to life by it. She had been given over, and was thought to be actually gone, when the medical man ordered cold air to be let in upon her. This was long before the practice had become common; in Romilly's case it was by the more powerful application of cold water, applied again and again all over the body, till it brought down the pulse and heat.

"You should use the ordinary precautions against infection yourself, and Lady Grey also, although adults are not by any means so subject to it. If you feel anything queer, an emetic is an excellent preventive, checking the infection even where it has been taken.

"I shall be very glad when I hear for certain that you are relieved. Living at Howick I should really have thought a security against such a visitation, and I am willing to hope it will be less severe on that account.

"Pray give my best remembrances to Lady Grey, and believe me ever most sincerely yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *September* 26, 1813.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am most truly obliged to you for the kind anxiety you express about me. I have indeed had a great alarm from the breaking-out of the scarlet fever. Two only of the younger boys and two or three of the servants have had it decidedly. One or two of the other children had all the incipient symptoms of sore throat, &c., but the early use of an emetic either checked the disorder or entirely prevented it, as they recovered without fever or any other inconvenience. One of the boys was handled severely, and, though the disorder itself is over, does not recover as he ought to do, and still has a nasty fever hanging about him. In general the character of the disease has been very mild. It has been, and still is, very prevalent in the neighbourhood, but only one person has died of it—a woman, who would not be persuaded that it was not the itch, and, in spite of all that could be said to her, rubbed herself with a mercurial ointment, which finished her in a very few hours.

"Upon the first appearance of this infection I removed Lady Grey and the girls to Falloden, and the boys to Mr Anderson's, staying here myself to watch

the sick; as I have had the scarlet fever, and consider myself as proof against it. When the infection appeared to be stopped, I sent those who had had it away, and, after well ventilating and fumigating the house, have brought back the rest of my family to their old quarters; and here they are now, all quite well.

"I have seen a very full and distinct account, from a person present, of the operations before Dresden, and the subsequent retreat of the Allied armies. It forms a perfect contrast with Lord Cathcart's statement of the same transactions, and goes very far indeed to confirm the French bulletins. Indeed, allowing for a little exaggerations as to numbers, and even this is not so great as I should have expected, the latter appear to be substantially correct. The information to which I refer, states that the Peterwald and Freiburg roads were intercepted; that the retreat of the various columns on this account was more difficult; that they lost several thousand carriages and some guns, not less than 30,000 men, including sick and prisoners; and that if they had delayed a few hours longer before Dresden, their retreat would have been impossible. As it was, they seem to have escaped a more severe loss by the persevering resistance of Count Osterman, and the error committed by Vandamme, which is represented exactly as Bonaparte states it. His corps lost, as he acknowledges, all their cannon, with the Prussian guns, which they had before taken, and about 10,000 men, including the wounded; the remainder completely licked Kleist's corps, and made good their retreat.

"The most important event that has yet happened is this victory obtained by the Crown-Prince, if true

to the extent represented in the papers, and which came last night; but of this I cannot help having great doubts. What difference this may make one cannot speculate upon till one sees exactly what it is; but had it not been for this I would have laid my money on Bonaparte, provided always his troops remain faithful: this seems to me even now his greatest danger.

"I wish I could tempt you across the hills: we are quite alone, but expect little Rogers. If you see anything of Thanet, pray remember me to him and my lady.—I am, my dear Brougham, ever yours most truly, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 6, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I fear I misled you, in my letter of yesterday, about a victory; my authority was Eden (Lord Henley's son), who had been at one of the offices. But it seems to be a false report.* However, they have quite enough without it.

"I suppose if the worst happens to Bonaparte—viz., being driven within the Rhine—we shall hear of nothing but Europe having been saved, and the Pittites will begin to crow as if they had won the game at last;—which will be just as if a man at play had first lost his whole fortune, and then, in a desperate attempt, won back half of it, and then triumphed as if he had rooked his adversary. Not to mention the horror with which the original French declaration of the Rhine, the Pyrenees, &c., was received, the whole Continent, should it be cleared of the French, has been ravaged in such

* The battle of Leipsic.

a way for twenty years that permanent conquest alone could be worse, and that only by a degree.

"However, it seems highly improbable that Austria and Bernadotte should hold out with the rest long enough to drive Bonaparte quite within the Alps and the Rhine, and it appears on the cards that he should gain some great success at one point, and then detach Austria.

"I have, of course, seen nobody since I came to town except lawyers, and of *their* news you had a specimen yesterday. — Believe me ever yours most truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"Macdonald *has* resigned, and Gibbs certainly succeeds him, though the Chancery men say Plomer, because they wish Richards to be Vice-Chancellor, as well they may be sick of Plomer. Ellenborough, much to his credit, is making a push for Holroyd as the new judge.

"I hear that Canning wrote the attack on Fox, but I can't believe it. The style is all for the other supposition."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 6, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As the news is at last come, and Parliament met, and people have had time to think a little about it, I wish to give you a note or two upon the state of the party. Of course, I hear at a distance, being quite out of the way, but I am also pretty cool, and as much disinterested upon the matter as any one can be; in fact, I am a mere spectator, so that (where there are in reality no secrets) I may

give an evidence as accurate and more unsuspected than persons engaged in the game.

"There is, though in a greater degree, the same outcry that alarmed me so much last spring, about 'the party being at an end—it is better to say so at once; let every one go his own way,' &c. It should seem that Canning's circular letter has been taken as the model by some of our friends, and I am morally certain they would rejoice at your issuing one of the same stamp! They talk, among other things, of supporting the ministers where their measures deserve it, and where not, of a candid and individual sort of opposition, with a great deal more trash of the same odious description. Now I should only wish to know what would have become of the Whig party (and of the constitution of this country) if such language had prevailed in 1793 and 1794, when many deserted, no doubt, and more grumbled, and yet you held together *the party*, although there was such a clamour against you, both in Parliament and out of it, and such a Government, in point both of talents and strength, with a steady, popular King, a country blind and comfortable both as to trade and taxes—in short, such a sum of things as never before was at all equalled for the ruin of the Opposition. If the grumblers of those days—who complained of Fox and you not going far enough in blaming the Jacobins, not fairly supporting Pitt where he deserved it, with I know not how much more such twaddle, spoken by men who don't seem to reflect on the very *nature* of a *party*—had been listened to, the party was at an end, and half-a-dozen great interests would have been finally detached from it, and formed new connections and habits.

"That the victory is upon the whole favourable to the constitution of this country I cannot doubt, for it must lead to peace, and then there is an end of the stop-mouth always used, 'Nothing can be done while Hannibal is at the gates.' Besides, peace is itself a great good, and one of the benefits to secure which we are desirous of seeing the constitution free. If, indeed, I could believe that the war is to last, the victories would be so much clear loss, for they make the Government *here* nearly absolute, whatever relief they may bring to Germany; and charity begins at home.

"But in the hopes of peace, were there nothing else, one cannot help exceedingly desiring that the great party, as it still is, should be kept together on true party principles, and should consider that in order to act with effect then (at a peace) they must continue as now.

"Connected with this is the subject of the speech, which all *our friends*, at least most, approve as moderate and on their own principles (supposing the phrase, *kingdom of France*, not to be a designed ambiguity). To commend it on those principles is doing nothing against the party, but this should be done with a reference to the party, so as to let it distinctly appear that the Government have come over to you on this important ground, as on many others, and *therefore* you approve.

"But while we are waiting for peace, are there no measures which the party might take with real benefit both to the country and to their own substantial popularity—measures which they might carry, too, in a session or two, with so wretched a ministry to oppose them, and the place-hunters (army, &c.) to back them

from time to time? The Catholic question, of course; but there are many others, some connected with Ireland, others general. Why should they not bring on the question of tithes generally? I had got everything ready for this (even to the length of a bill carried through Parliament as an experiment, and which had completely answered) when I was flung out; but the thing is as plain sailing as a common road-bill, and would, I venture to assert, succeed the first session it was tried.

"I believe no one thing the party could do would more recommend it (or more justly) to the country. The question of *impressment* is another, though certainly of a much more delicate and difficult nature; but I had made considerable progress in it, chiefly upon Windham's principle, and saw my way better than could have been supposed. The greatest practical evil, or nearly so, at present existing—the *expenses of law proceedings*—is a third; and to trouble you with only one more, to which I had *not* applied myself, but which, I am sure, much may be made of—the poor-laws. But I mention these merely as specimens, and I am quite clear that, with the force now at your disposal in both Houses, such a campaign might be arranged and carried on as would both steer clear of all differences and grounds of splitting, and would deservedly gain incalculable weight for the party with the country, while it would allow the awkward interval to pass by between this victory and peace—to pass with credit to the party, instead of showing them up day after day as discomfited and scattered, or at best doing nothing but waiting for a blot to hit. Observe, I don't mean that they should not hit a thousand blots

all the while, for this is, after all, their principal calling. I am speaking of what should be done in addition to the usual measures of opposition, and while it is going on those ordinary measures will come in of course. Indeed, no time should be lost in rallying and bringing something forward. If only a dozen come to it at first, depend upon it, the whole force will collect speedily; and until the idea of a disbanding is put down by the fact, no one will think of rallying.

"I am sure nothing but a most sincere and warm regard for the party could make me *bore* you so long with my notions as I have now done; and I may say a regard quite unmixed with any selfish feelings, for it is the pleasure of a great many of the party to consider, or affect to consider, me as 'flung overboard to lighten the ship;' but I care not for such stupid, and in many cases interested, stuff. As I said before, I am really speaking as an uninterested spectator, but one whose good wishes are greatly concerned.

"To turn to the point which alone the persons I have been alluding to ever think of—the court, or rather the Prince. Though the idea, which they can't get out of their heads, that he may still be kind, is a sort of madness after what has passed, and though all chance of getting a hold over him by his fears (the only handle he has about him) was thrown away last spring, yet the sort of chance *they* look to would, such as it is, still be open according to my plan.

"This brings me to what I understand is really the case, that he is not very well with his ministers, jealous of their interfering, squabbling about their moderation, and for the Bourbons, &c.; also about the arrangement for the young Princess and the Princess

of Wales, &c.; but of this I shall write on Monday. It comes all to very little in my view.—Ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 25, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I received yours yesterday, and certainly the difficulty you begin and end with is the grand one; nor do I really see, under existing circumstances, how it is to be got rid of. I know very well what would do if people would agree to it, but that it is only removing the difficulty one step, and leaving it there as great as ever. I mean, of course, if our friends in the House of Commons would take Whitbread for their leader; because I have never entertained a moment's doubt that he would be the most *tractable* leader they could find, and the most accommodating to those both in the House of Commons and elsewhere. I admit that to those who only look at his conduct as it has been, while there has prevailed a constant struggle, &c., this seems a sort of paradox; but I have no doubt whatever of its truth; and they who know him best, I believe, will agree in it; though, to say the truth, one never likes to mention the subject, from a conviction of the difficulties attending it, and a fear that broaching such things may do harm. In short, it is almost if not quite impossible to see any way out of it.

"There is some alarm about Canada in the City, and apparently not ill founded. If the ministers (as is reported) send the Duke of York to Holland, we shall soon be in the old way again. One thing I know for certain, that the language both at Carlton House and

the Duke of York's is strong against Bernadotte, and that they openly wish *he* may do nothing in Holland.

"Canning's speech last night, I hear, failed greatly; it was a mere collection of clap-traps, which caught very ill. Indeed, as it appears in the newspapers, it looks like something made out of the 'Morning Post' and 'Elegant Extracts.'*

"Ward seems uncomfortable, as he well may be, after the disbanding. I heard a joke of Lord Byron's annoyed him t'other day, though it was a baddish sort of pun. Ward was talking of being '*rewhigged*,' and Lord Byron said he fancied he wanted to be '*rewarded*.' They have fired an epigram at him, which is not much better; I suppose it is Tom Moore's:—

'W—d has no heart, they say, but I deny it;
He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it.'

"You heard, I suppose, of Sheridan having at length been arrested, owing to his usual folly and delays. He is out again, but was beyond measure annoyed by it. It is not much known, and had better not be mentioned: really nothing can be more lamentable than his coming to such an end. The Prince talks of providing for Jekyll and Adam as soon as he can.—Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 27, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As you may suppose, the people continue intoxicated with the good news—more of which may be daily expected; for Italy will prob-

* This seems to refer to Canning's speech on 17th November, in the debate on Lord Castlereagh's motion for a committee of the whole House "on the Foreign Treaties."—See Hansard, 144.

ably be soon cleared of the French, and Hamburg and the garrisons, Dantzic, &c., must fall. Wellington has met, I apprehend, with more resistance than he looked for, for it certainly was his intention to attack Bayonne immediately. It even seems upon the cards that something should happen to Bonaparte himself; but what the Austrians would then do is another question; and it seems pretty clear that Bernadotte won't attack France. He may be speculating on something leading to his own succession, in which case he of course must keep aloof from all invasions. Our Carlton House wiseacres continue to abuse him, calling him the *Sergeant*, and saying he was once flogged for stealing, &c. &c. They deride the notion of peace while Bonaparte lives, and speak of a new declaration of peace by Louis XVIII. (By the way, what a good thing of it that old gentleman would have were he restored, without anything like a party to back him, and all the property, places, and commands in the hands of his enemies!)

The person who is now at the head of affairs in Holland, Mr Von Hogendorp, is one of the best and ablest men I ever knew. He is a particular friend of mine, and constant correspondent; and Lord Liverpool and his colleagues will probably now repent of having turned a deaf ear to all the complaints which he made to them, through me, of the confiscation of his colony at the Cape by Baird and Popham.* I never could

* Gilbert Charles, Count of Hogendorp, born 1762, died 1834. It is mentioned in the usual histories and biographies that he lost a considerable private fortune through the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. He was active in the restoration of the house of Orange, while his brother, General Hogendorp, was intrusted by Napoleon with the government of Hamburg, when Davoust commanded the garrison during the memorable siege.

get anything further than a promise to refer it to the King's Advocate, and this is two years ago. I had intended last session to bring it forward in Parliament; indeed, a more shameful transaction never was carried on. I first applied in 1807 to Windham's office; and though the inferior persons in the Government did, of course, all they could to check it, *he* was giving it full consideration when *no Popery* came over us. Since that it has been one delay and pretext after another. I should add that Von Hogendorp had sunk half his fortune (about £100,000) in the experiment, which was for the abolition of slavery. This is an instance of the evils that sometimes happen from neglecting to do justice, and overlooking complaints because you have no immediate interest in redressing them. I hope the Dutch will not take back their old masters, as we did, without terms: if they do, their tranquillity won't last long.—Ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 4, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—A foolish man called Grant has published a palavering account of his trip to Holland, and, from ignorance of French and inaccuracy, has represented Hogendorp as speaking in a style so totally unlike the man that I don't credit a word of it. He is a man of the most calm and sensible deportment, and could not, if he would, say things put into his mouth. I expect to hear from him immediately, having procured a passport for a connection of his who went yesterday. Yarmouth's going over is odd enough—perhaps it is only to pick up a little money by stock-jobbing; but if he means to *earwig*

the Prince of Orange, it will be most pernicious. That Prince is a madman if he ever listens to any but Dutchmen. He has no other way of re-establishing the confidence of the country in him.

"I happened to be with the committee of the African Institution yesterday, at Lord Bathurst's, about the slave-trade business; and though I saw he was very civilly inclined towards Hogendorp, and listened attentively to the full detail of his bad treatment by all *their* people in succession, which I made him hear in presence of the saints, making Windham (as in fact he was) the only exception, and though he spoke as if they might do all that was fair towards Hogendorp, and mentioned him very respectfully, yet there was a something which struck me in his way of speaking on this subject as if they considered the Orange family as entirely on their own bottom, or *jure divino*, and not likely to please any one but themselves in governing or choosing councillors. The manner was this—as if he commended Hogendorp, and excepted him from the mass; a kind of amnesty or pardoning manner, instead of the gratitude due to him as the greatest benefactor of the family, for whom—at least for the country—he exposes his life and property most literally, should the French ever get back. I hope I may be deceived. Wilberforce afterwards went to Castlereagh's on the same slave-trade business, and promised to repeat what I had said about Hogendorp; but I daresay he left out the offensive parts. I am told Castlereagh received what was mentioned of Hogendorp very graciously; but I could not go myself, being obliged to return to Westminster.—Believe me ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 16, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I rejoice to find by your letter that the attack is quite gone; and though I have little or nothing to say, I write only as a kind of *gossiping* visit, which a convalescent is supposed to be the better for. As to Lauderdale's new book, I take it for granted your medical men would prohibit it as they would the eating of leather, cod-sounds, or any other equally digestible performance.* By the way, you may hint to him that as Jeffrey on his return from America will find the 'Edinburgh Review' become quite a series of *éloges*, he will naturally collect all his venom for the next number, in order to regain his character; the natural consequence of which will be a massacre of *his* new book. But, of course, he won't care for that when he reflects that he suffers because such an overpraise has been bestowed on a *plain* gentlewoman, of some size, *rather advanced in life.* I am sure his known gallantry towards such characters will reconcile him to this vicarious punishment. This brings me to the said gentlewoman, Madame de Staël, whom I really think you all overrate. Her book seems terribly vague and general and inaccurate. She certainly follows old Lord Lansdowne's advice in avoiding details 'as the more dignified line.' Besides, her presumption is intolerable, and on all subjects, on many of which she *can* know nothing,—as, for instance, the German metaphysics, except so far as she may have rubbed some of them off Schlegel.

"I never have seen her, and shun her as I would an

* Lauderdale's new book—'The Depreciation of the Paper Currency of Great Britain Proved.'

evil of some kind, having heard her talked of as a grand bore, and being sickened by the concurring accounts of her fulsome flattery of the Prince, ministers, &c. &c., and her profligate changes of principle. In women such things signify little; but she must (as Talleyrand said) be considered as a man.

"The Prince is really behaving like a bedlamite. T'other night he (being tipsy) abused Bernadotte by the hour to Monsieur Staël, who is an emissary of his, and said that, to his (the Prince's) knowledge, he might have taken Hambro six weeks ago, but was prevented by mean jealousy of the Prussians. He talked of going to Hanover immediately, and was even rude to M. Staël for doubting his being allowed. He has told such of his servants as are in favour that they go with him to Hanover; the others, not. This was always the forerunner of his father's madness.

"The acknowledgment of the Prince of Orange as sovereign seems to me only in conformity to the principle of not interfering, and I really do not know what else the ministers could have done. If he and the Dutch choose to call him Grand Lama, what is it to us? and what though we did know of his intention?

"*Serjeant Lens* has covered himself with glory by his refusal; however, I must protest against the high tone taken by some on this and Leech's good behaviour, otherwise we admit either that our virtue is very low, or that the enemy may by such offers rank us as he pleases among ourselves.—Yours ever truly,

"H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *January* 5, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I am very unwilling that

you should be troubled with a letter on so trifling a subject as myself, but I am still more anxious to correct a mistake in which I conclude my last must have led you, from your allusion to the Hollands. I certainly don't accuse them, if it is any accusation; and my allusion was to others who, for aught I know, are quite conscientious (possibly they are right too) in their opinion that I *ought* not to be allowed to come in. I really don't blame them for it, because I take it for granted we differ upon something essential. My suspicion was partly founded on my certain knowledge that they knew of the transaction in question, and that they proposed or in some way named another—certainly without the least effect, but showing their inclination. This other person, I daresay, is a very proper one, though I cannot be quite sure, never having heard of him before.

"As for the Hollands, it would be a much heavier charge against them, because I am sure our sentiments on all political matters entirely coincide. Therefore it could only arise from personal pique, and I should just as soon think of accusing yourself as Lord Holland of such a thing. I can't say it more strongly.

"One word on this matter. I regret the estrangement in question very sincerely, having for Lord Holland the most cordial regard and esteem, as well as that which, whether I will or no, always goes very far with me, the greatest admiration of his abilities. But I am morally certain that, if you knew the facts, you would say I had no choice. Quarrel there was none, nor anything like it; but I was compelled no longer to frequent Holland House, and I ceased going there silently, without saying one word to any human being.

When asked why, I always gave it out that I was out of favour, or some such thing, in order to throw it on myself, and let it appear that Lady Holland had declined my acquaintance, not I hers. Nor did I ever name her, except to defend her (from a love of contradiction perhaps) when I heard her perpetually attacked. I even said that there was no *ground* of difference on her part. I could go no further. I have lately understood that she knew of my saying so, and her gratitude has been a species of abuse which I really can't stoop to commit to paper.

"I enclose a letter from Hogendorp, which will show you, first, that the assumption of the sovereignty was not a sudden thought; and, second, that it was not suggested from this country. Pray send it back when you have read it. My letters were strong exhortations to some things, particularly to impose good terms on the Orange family, and not fall into the error committed by us at the Restoration.—Believe me ever most truly, H. B.

"*P.S.*—The fact of the Allies crossing the Rhine, though confidently stated in the 'Times' and 'Courier,' seems incredible—probably a stock-jobbing trick.

"The Emperor Alexander has alarmed our Government into an offer to America by showing a leaning towards neutral questions. The offer went in October, and the answer is not returned. The ministers are averse *now* to any separate peace with America.

"A sagacious friend of mine, with whom I was one day talking over Lady Holland's spiteful proceedings, made a suggestion which I am inclined to think explained the real cause of offence. He had heard, I

know not how, that some time ago the Hollands made an attempt to call at Brougham on their way south from Scotland; that my mother ordered the outer gate of the courtyard to be barred against their entrance, saying that she herself was too old to be hurt by Lady Holland, or anybody of that kind, but that she had an unmarried daughter, then living with her, and therefore that no Lady Holland should set foot in her house! I remember my mother was immovable, and there was nothing to be done but that I should go out to the carriage, make any excuse I could invent, and drive on with the Hollands to visit Lord Thanet, he being then at Appleby Castle—and this I accordingly was compelled to do. On looking back to this disagreeable event, I cannot but give my friend credit for his sagacity in applying the circumstance to the long-continued and bitter spite with which I was favoured by Lady Holland."

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *January* 14, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I send you back Hogendorp's letter, which I ought to have done sooner. I believed Castlereagh when he said that the change of Government had not been urged by us; and this letter certainly confirms what he said. But I do not think the measure less impolitic on that account, considering the time and manner in which it was executed; nor do I think the less that we ought to have advised against it. I hear that a convention is to be assembled to confirm what has been done, and to form the new constitution. I wish nothing had been done previously, but this will satisfy all my objections, and will be a valu-

able recognition of the principle that the people alone have a right to alter their own government. From what appears in the public papers, I should suspect that your friend rather overrates the *prodiges* which *l'amour de la patrie* is to exhibit. From the proclamations that have appeared, and from accounts which I have seen from some of our officers, it looks as if Mynheer was not quite so alert as he ought to be.

"The Allies, you see, have passed the Rhine. It now remains to be seen whether the French will answer the call of Bonaparte. If they do, the next passage of that river may not be quite so triumphant. If they do not, the total destruction of his power is not improbable. Calculating upon past experience and upon the French character, I should incline to the former opinion. Judging from the tone of Bonaparte and his Senate in their late speeches, addresses, &c., there appear symptoms of uneasiness and weakness which warrant the latter. We shall soon see.

"Upon the other part of your letter I will say no more at present, except that where there are so many motives to a good understanding and friendship, it is very vexatious that any difference should exist, and that I will not despair that some time or other an opportunity may offer of setting these matters right again. Upon the particular fact respecting the seat I cannot judge, not knowing what it was; perhaps you may have some difficulty in communicating it: if not, I should be glad to know it, and certainly would endeavour to get to the bottom of it.

"I still feel the effects of my late attack, but I am on the whole pretty well.—Ever yours,

"GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *January* 15, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I happened yesterday to see several foreigners, among others General Lowenhielen, just come on a mission from Bernadotte. He told me that the Emperor Alexander calculates at 80,000 the army which Bonaparte crossed the Rhine with, but Lowenhielen says that he (Alexander) always estimates the enemy largely, for fear of mistakes. He adds that he is sure nothing but the guillotine will ever make the French rally round Bonaparte as they did, in the times of terror, round the Revolution; and he says the Allies have probably 300,000 now in France. But with all this he does not seem to think the thing by any means clear. I well remember *mon homme* at Stockholm in 1799, just come from Paris through Holland, and full of nothing but the Duke of York's being always drunk and in bed, and the other French topics.

"Dawson (lately attached to Walmoden) is just come, and reports Bernadotte's views to be all for succeeding Bonaparte, and that *at last* he will go towards France; that he begins to find the Allies are suspecting him, and must do something; that he is the greatest rogue, &c., in the world; that he never has fought but when obliged, and always in terror of risking his military character. I must say I rather believe this account. It is exactly what Bulow says of him in Holland. I find M. de Staël is quite furious at the invasion of France, and the idea of Cossacks *à Paris*. This is as it should be; indeed, the notion of saving Europe by such means is a very neat kind of bull.

"By letters from Holland yesterday, Van Hogen-

dorp is quite well again; and has given in his constitution, which is to be revised by a commission of persons *all out of office*, then to the Prince, and then submitted to the *notables of the nation*. This last was my earnest advice, but I have no doubt it had occurred to himself. I have also a very civil message from Mr Falck, the other Secretary of State, who is, I believe, a stanch reformer.—Ever yours very sincerely,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *July* 12, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—You will before this time have seen the event of the Westminster election—at least what is sure to be so—the return of Lord Cochrane without opposition.

"Everything was arranged on Tuesday last, and I should have walked over the course. Lord Cochrane had never been even mentioned; but the debate, and especially George Ponsonby's, and Whitbread's, and Wortley's speeches—preferring his assertions of innocence to the verdict of guilty—had the immediate effect of putting it to the Westminster men to condemn him; and they all said, 'Though we want to get rid of him as a member, yet it is now cast upon us to declare him guilty, and upon evidence which forty-four of the House of Commons think insufficient.' This has proved decisive; and though many of them wished a middle course, that he should be *declared* innocent, and not elected, I among others plainly told them *that* was not the way to serve Lord Cochrane.

"It is understood that an arrangement has been made to choose him this one time, and that he is not to come

forward again in case of expulsion, &c. The great thing was to keep all together, and avoid a splitting. In this they seem hitherto to have succeeded perfectly.

"Burdett's declining influence has been somewhat revived by this hit; but I fear the extreme folly of attacking Lord Cochrane's attorneys, &c., will lead to such a defence on their part as will damage both Lord Cochrane and Burdett. I fairly warned them of the danger. Lord Cochrane partly listened; Burdett would not.

"Lord Tavistock and his brothers, with many others, had most warmly come forward for me, and it stands as well as possible on the whole.—Yours truly, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"LANCASTER, *September* 1, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—Perry has, you will see, been most careful to say nothing of Canning, in spite of the almost irresistible temptation to do so; but this is quite of a piece with his shabby ratting at the Liverpool election. By the way, Canning, Huskisson, and Dog Dent* are all on a visit near this place at old Bolton's (the slave-trader's), who is the *purse* of that party. It is, of course, not for nothing that they are come on such a visit. Many of the circuit dined there on Tuesday, as Bolton's brother-in-law is one of us; and they say Canning made no play, and scarcely opened his mouth. His motive is said to be no less than he means to retire and put in *the Dog!!* It

* Of a Westmoreland family—a partner in Child's Bank; for many parliaments member for Lancaster; immortalised as the inventor of the tax upon dogs, and hence the name by which he was universally known. After Pitt imposed the tax, Dent used frequently to receive large hampers garnished with hares' legs, pheasants' tails, grouse and partridge wings, &c., but invariably filled with *dead dogs*.

would be a neat thing, to be sure; but I don't at all think it off the cards. I have many communications on the subject from Liverpool, but decline doing anything. I am sick of Liverpool elections, and won't put myself up against his canine majesty on any account, even if sure of beating him. I shall let some other member of the party take a turn at it this time, having done quite as much as falls to my share already, and in return been kept out of Parliament—a whole Parliament—and lost almost all the practice I had in this county owing to the election.—Yours sincerely,

"H. B.

"*P.S.*—I have an idea of going for a fortnight to Paris in October, but am not quite resolved. I wish your family were all well enough to let you go too. I take it to be the pleasantest time."

Dr Shepherd had paid a visit to Paris early in the month of June, and having written a small volume describing all he saw, and comparing his impressions with what he recollected of Paris when he visited it in 1802, was kind enough to send me an early copy, which I acknowledged in the following letter, written just after I had sent Jeffrey an article upon the book for the October number of the Review.

TO DR SHEPHERD.

"BROUGHAM, *Monday, Sept.* 19, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received on Saturday morning your acceptable volume, for which receive my thanks. I swallowed it whole in my walks that day, for this delicious weather, and the woods and streams of this

place, keep me out 'from morn to dewy eve' (only that we have had no dew).

"This house being full of company, my time, till night was far advanced, has not been my own either Saturday or yesterday, nevertheless I have, by an exertion about midnight, contrived to send off the volume, depicted and commented on, to a certain place, on its way to which it (that is, the account of it) now is. At first I had meant only to send the book itself, with instructions and hints, to Jeffrey; but I changed my plan, and was unwilling to run any risks; so, deviating from my rule of only handling general subjects, and those but few, I have done the deed myself. Expect, therefore, *star' ammazzato*, and to cry out, 'Save me from my friends!'* You must know I more and more think of making a trip to Paris before Michaelmas term, and your diary has not diminished my ardour—it had been growing. Since I was in Italy, ten years ago, I have had a surfeit of sights on me, so as never to care for any more; but the greatest surfeit wears off when the stomach is tolerably sound, and the banquet now in question is extraordinary in more senses than one. Aware, then, of the fickle nature of the Guinea, and suspecting him to be again on the rise, I have actually taken the precaution of making my banker remit a sum to Paris, that I may not be spending at the rate of 15s. in the pound when I go.

"As I mean only to see galleries, I shall not trouble any men of science (except perhaps the great mathema-

* See in 'Edinburgh Review' for September 1814, art. xi., on "Paris in Eighteen hundred and two and Eighteen hundred and fourteen. By the Rev. William Shepherd."

tician La Place, and Cuvier), nor any politician at all; and leaving this about the 20th of Oct., I shall be in town again on the 31st. Can I do anything for you or our friend at Allerton? * to whom pray remember me. —Believe me ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

A few days before, I had written as follows to Lord Grey:—

"BROUGHAM, *Monday.*

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have Martin's answer as enclosed. I fear Perry will still hang back. Perhaps he ought not to be harshly dealt with now, for his calamity, I learn, is a serious one—viz., his wife and some of his children, on their passage from Lisbon, either lost or taken by *Algerines.* (He will attack all the Barbary powers for a year to come freely.) I can't help wishing he himself were taken for a year or two, and well bastinadoed. I have no news from town. Sharp and Phillips have just been here, but they bring nothing new. The Thanets are not come, nor will for a fortnight.

"I have got hold of an excellent constitutional pamphlet on the 'Queen' (I believe by George Lamb, but this is MOST *secret*), and project saying something in the 'Edinburgh Review' on the question of interference with the R. family, &c.

"At present I am rather immersed in mathematical *divertissements*, which I plunge into for a short period of each year on getting home.

"Romilly is not to be in Durham till the 28th. When Canning and Huskisson were at Bolton's, they came to dine at Lowther after much negotiation, the

* Mr Roscoe.

difficulties *not* being all on Canning's side. Sharp was rather diverted with this, and with finding them all planted at Bolton's and not at Lowther; for when he met them at Charles Ellis's some weeks before, they gave out that their visit was to *Lowther*, and said not a word of *Bolton*. It seems Huskisson is going ultimately to Ireland, and Peel to be got rid of.

"Pray, if you should ever hear of any family going abroad, and wanting a physician, recommend a friend of mine, who is just reduced from the staff, and a man of great skill and worth, as well as a gentleman in all respects, and extremely accomplished.

"If you mean to buy 'Waverley' (which is *Scott's*), you may keep my copy instead of bringing it to town, as I find one here.—Yours ever truly, H. B."

Paris had been entered by an army commanded by the leading European sovereigns, and composed of the same Prussians, Bavarians, and Wurtembergers who, having marched and fought under Napoleon to the attack upon Moscow, had now, under Alexander, taken part in a triumphal entry into Paris, accompanied by Cossacks; thus verifying the strange prediction of Rousseau, that "the time would come when Tartars should encamp in that city." There had been nothing like it since the irruption of Attila and his Huns.

A sort of provisional treaty was hastily made at Paris, but, to avoid squabbles and quarrels over the division of the booty, the more important matters were adjourned to a congress, held at Vienna, where many momentous questions were to be decided, not by an equal participation of all the European powers, but rather under the direct dictation of those whose

armies occupied the territories which were the subject of arrangement, compensation, and indemnity. By the treaty, or, more correctly speaking, convention of Paris, it was agreed (Ney and Caulaincourt representing Napoleon) that he should retain the title of Emperor, with the sovereignty of Elba; that his family should be princes; that he should have two millions of francs a-year paid to him by France; that Maria Louisa should continue to be called Empress, and should have the duchy of Parma, which was to descend to her son. In consideration of these terms Napoleon renounced for himself and his descendants all right of sovereignty in France, Italy, and elsewhere.

Castlereagh, on behalf of England, agreed to the Elba and Parma parts; but inasmuch as Great Britain had never acknowledged Napoleon either as emperor or as sovereign of France, he declined to be a party to the treaty; so that the parties to the convention of Paris were Russia, Austria, Prussia, Caulaincourt, and Marshal Ney.

All this took place in the beginning of April, and, when disclosed, some of the terms excited no little astonishment, more especially that which related to the place of residence. Ney it was who suggested Elba. Bonaparte himself asked for Corfu, which was refused, because he might there disturb Turkey! The Allied sovereigns would have better secured their captive if they had sent him anywhere rather than to Elba, for that island combined qualities unusually favourable to intrigue or evasion. Close to Italy, at that time hating the tyranny of her old masters; easy of communication with France through Italy and Switzerland; too far from the coast of France to be

easily watched, but too near to make a landing there improbable, or even difficult; and accordingly, in less than twelve months—namely, on the 1st of March 1815—Napoleon *did* land at Cannes in Provence, not far from where I am now writing; so that if the world had been searched to find the residence the most dangerous to France, the most far-seeing men would have fixed upon Elba.

It has always been a marvel to me that so clever and sagacious a man as Talleyrand should not have foreseen the probable result of this arrangement. Perhaps he yielded from a conviction that the soldier-like attachment to their chief might have so far influenced the French armies, then near Fontainebleau and in the provinces of the Loire, that any harshness in the treatment of Bonaparte might have raised a flame it would have been difficult to extinguish. But there was one result of the abdication which created unbounded astonishment—the marvellous rapidity in the change of public opinion in France—that the man who but a few short weeks before had apparently possessed the entire affections of the nation he ruled over, should have been all at once forgotten; that he should have been quietly, and almost without observation, allowed to be escorted by *foreign* officers to the place of embarkation in the south; disappearing, unnoticed and unregretted, from the soil over which he had so long and so recently exercised the most absolute and undisputed dominion.

This conduct is a painful illustration of the character of Frenchmen, and excites reflections one has no pleasure in dwelling on. Mackintosh felt this acutely, and, in discussing with me the events I have here

referred to, made use of expressions very different from the words he once applied to Frenchmen, whom, he said, "posterity would celebrate for patriotic heroism, as the citizens by whose efforts the fabric of despotism fell to the ground."*

It is not surprising that the author of the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' should have felt this deeply. I remember his telling me that among the few who had not altogether forgotten Napoleon were some who discussed the question whether he ought not to have killed himself; while others declared they always believed that he was too great a coward to play the Roman part; and Mackintosh added that Napoleon, before he left Fontainebleau, had argued for and against suicide, concluding with this singular avowal, "D'ailleurs, je ne suis pas entièrement depourvu de tout sentiment religieux." I may add that the surprise I then felt at the conduct of the French people was much modified when I afterwards, during a long residence in France, acquired a more intimate knowledge of the national character and of its distinguishing attributes—vanity and fickleness; a knowledge that has impressed me with the strong conviction that the day *may* come—*scilicet et tempus veniet*—when Napoleon's successor may, by dynastic aspirations by no means unnatural, or, more probably, by insane attempts at territorial aggrandisement, end his life a captive in a foreign prison; and, despite the substantial benefits he has conferred upon his country, may find himself, like his mighty predecessor, abandoned, vilified, and forgotten. But these speculations are foreign to my present subject, which is the visit I made to Paris in 1814, when, as soon as the circuit

* 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ.' London: 1791.

ended, after a couple of weeks at Brougham, I went over to France, where I had never been—both my former visits to the Continent, in 1799 and 1804, having been made during the war. My mother and my brother William went with me.

When I look at the facilities and speed which steam and railroads have given in these days to travelling, so that I can leave Brougham after dinner on Monday, and dine at Cannes on Wednesday at six, performing a journey of nearly 1200 miles in forty-four hours, it seems incredible that our journey to Paris, including a good deal of night-travelling, should have taken more than eight days; yet so it was. We slept at Dover, and, there being no steamboats, made a bargain with a sailing-vessel to take us, our courier, and carriage across to Calais. The charge was twelve guineas! We arrived at Paris at a late hour, and drove about from hotel to hotel before we got lodged at the Hotel d'Espagne, Rue St Marc, considerably after midnight. The rapid journey was too much for my mother, who became seriously ill—so ill that all the pleasure I anticipated, and all I had looked forward to of my visit to Paris, was entirely destroyed.

I had not very long to remain there, as it was necessary that I should be back in London for Michaelmas term. I could only hope to see the chief things, and some of the most eminent men there. The Duke of Wellington was our ambassador, and from him I received the greatest kindness; and we had some important conversations upon several subjects, particularly the slave-trade, respecting which his views were quite sound and temperate, as he saw the great difficulties of the French Government in its peculiar posi-

tion, so soon after the Restoration, with the West India party, all zealous royalists, and forming a great proportion of that body on whose support Louis XVIII. mainly relied in his struggles against the Republicans and Bonapartists. The Duke was amused with an interview which I had at Monsieur Gallois' (a friend of Romilly and Dumont) with De Molina (whom I had seen in the chair of the Chamber of Deputies), and who began with me upon the subject of the slave-trade.* After a little discussion I said, "Mais, monsieur, vous ne me donnez que des arguments des colons." "C'est que je suis colon," he replied. "Alors," I added, "tout est expliqué." In fact, he was a planter.

I attended one or two sittings of the Institute, of which I was not then a member, not having been elected till fifteen or sixteen years after. I there saw all the great men—La Place at their head; unfortunately not La Grange, whom I reckoned the first in one respect, and whose public character had not been so much lowered by his conduct as La Place's, both as to capacity and independence. He might have been as incapable of taking a great political office, for which he showed himself utterly unfit, but certainly would have been incapable of showing base ingratitude for the favours he had received from Napoleon, and suppressing his dedication of gross flattery because the Emperor had abdicated between the printing and the publication of the 'Mécanique Céleste.' But La Grange had died the year before, and I did not make La Place's acquaintance. I heard him read the report (which he had drawn up) of a commission

* Jean Antoine Gauvin Gallois, born 1755, died 1829. Poet; author on jurisprudence and politics.

upon a work that had been referred to it; and there was nothing particularly striking in his statements. But I was a good deal struck with the concise and clear report of another member, General Carnot. He said the work which had been referred to his commission consisted of things which fell under two several descriptions. One portion was of little or no value, and that was new. The other had some value, but that was not new. He hardly had any more to observe; but this was decisive.

I called upon the General, and was most kindly received. I had several long interviews with him, and discussed many subjects, both political and mathematical; of the former we talked over the affairs of the day, in which he took naturally a great interest, having exposed himself to a prosecution for an able pamphlet which he had published soon after the Restoration.* But of course it was much more interesting to hear him upon the times in which he had played so great a part, and his views of certain subjects of science on which he had written. I deemed it right on this occasion to make an exception to my rule of never taking a note of any conversation. This was the only exception I ever made to my rule, for where I had an official duty to perform, it of course could not apply. Unless to Romilly, I never showed this conversation; indeed, it was written in French, and but for his encouragement as to the language, I should not have been disposed to keep it. However, it was sent to Brougham, and having been found a year or

* 'Memorial of Monsieur Carnot, Lieutenant-General in the French army, Knight of the Order of St Louis, Member of the Legion of Honour and of the Institute of France. Addressed to His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVIII.' Translated by Louis Goldsmith. London: 1814.

two ago in an almost perfect state, I was asked by my friend Carnot, son of the General, to let him see it, and to give him the use of it for his father's Life, which he is engaged in preparing. I shall here insert the greater part of it.

"CONVERSATION AVEC M. CARNOT, OCTOBRE 26, 1814.

"Après quelques compliments,—vous voyez que je mène une vie tout à fait privée, ne quittant jamais ma famille excepté pour me promener, ou aller aux séances de l'Institut. C'est ce que j'ai toujours fait, tandis que les affaires ne me demandaient pas, ou que je ne pouvais pas vivre en public sans sacrifier mes principes.

"Il a parlé un peu sur la traité et l'abolition. Je lui ai demandé s'il était pour ou contre. 'Comment contre! Je suis ami de la liberté—c'est tout simple, que je dois être l'ami de l'abolition; mais vous trouverez très peu de personnes clairvoyantes sur ce chapître dans ce moment.'

"J'ai parlé de la faiblesse du Gouvernement. 'Cela est bien vrai, mais si le Corps Législatif est encore plus faible que le Gouvernement, il se peut bien que celui-ci l'emporte et détruise tout ce qui nous reste de la liberté.' J'observai que c'était une concurrence de faiblesses plutôt que de forces, et que le moins impuissant devait vaincre. Il dit que oui, et en faisant quelque allusion à l'état méprisable du Gouvernement, il s'écria—'Ah, mon Dieu! après 25 années telles que nous avons eues, tant de peines et de luttes, de victoires remportées sur l'oppression, et de triomphes étonnants gagnés sur tant d'ennemis, voir

Paris pris par les Russes, et les Émigrés, causes de tous nos maux, nous dicter une constitution aux Tuileries—à nous, qui pendant tout ce temps ont gagné toutes ces victoires. J'ai fait quelques compliments à celui qui avait organisé la victoire, selon l'adage français, et en revenant au sujet de la faiblesse du Corps Législatif, j'ai cru trouver en eux beaucoup de fainéantise et de lâchesse. Pas seulement cela, c'est encore pire. Ces messieurs craignent pour leurs biens, leurs fonds, et leurs places; et ceux qui n'en ont pas, espérent en gagner par leur souplesse. Le Corps Législatif est influé par les places de juges, préfets, sous-préfets, &c., qui n'ont pas été conformés aux uns, et à qui les autres espérent succéder. C'est encore un acte de mauvaise foi de ne pas confirmer ces juges, &c., mais cela tourne au profit de la cour. Sans cela elle n'aurait pas d'influence. Toute l'armée est contre le roi personellement. D'abord il n'est pas militaire, et ne peut pas l'être. Sa dévotion, sincère ou prétendue, ne lui vaut pas grand chose.' J'ai parlé du Duc de Bourbon. Il s'est moqué beaucoup de ce prince, mais il n'a pas convenu que Monsieur jouissait d'un plus grand crédit, ni le Duc d'Angoulême non plus.

"Il parlait avec le plus sincère mépris de la poignée d'Émigrés qui entourent le roi, et de leurs prétensions. Il expliquait le rapport contre M. de Ferrand, en supposant que tout cela était causé par les intérêts personnels des députés qui possèdent des biens nationaux, et qui craignent pour leurs possessions. (Lui-même n'en a jamais eu pour un franc, s'il mettait tout en compte; il a perdu la moitié de ce qu'il avait avant la révolution.)

"Nous parlâmes de Bonaparte, et de l'ordre qu'on

venait de lancer de sa déportation à Ste. Lucie. Il avait entendu parler de Botany Bay. Il disait que rien ne pouvait égaler le crime et le scandale d'une telle démarche excepté sa lâcheté, et parlait de la foi des traités; de tout ce qu'on avait gagné par la sacrifice que Bonaparte avait fait pour éviter une guerre civile, en me faisant rappeler que personne plus que lui ne s'était toujours opposé à Bonaparte ou l'aimait moins. 'C'est un tyran que personne ne peut aimer, et que les amis de la liberté ne peuvent guère souffrir.'

"Il pense que si l'on s'avise de le renvoyer aux Indes, &c., tant pis pour les Bourbons. Les républicains préféreroient son fils à eux, quoique à présent ils préfèrent tout à Bonaparte. Puis les Bonapartistes qui sont mal vus du public seront beaucoup moins soupçonnés quand il ne sera plus question de sa rentrée.

"J'ai dit que l'armée était pour Bonaparte. 'Oui bien, parcequ'il faut être pour quelqu'un, mais elle pourrait toujours mettre le Maréchal telle chose à sa tête. Et presque tous les Maréchaux tourneront pour le parti qui commence à prendre le dessus.' (Marmont n'oserait pas faire la guerre avec les troupes; il serait certainement tué. On ne peut pas le souffrir depuis sa trahison.)

"'Bonaparte ne se connaissait pas beaucoup dans les sciences; il était un peu mathématicien, ayant été dans l'artillerie. Il n'étudiait pas les mathématiques; il pensait à autres choses — l'Italie peut-être — et naturellement.'

"Ensuite un assez long entretien a eu lieu dans les hautes mathématiques—sur le calcul différentiel, la notation qui y appartient, la préférence due à celle de

Leibnitz, surtout dans les puissances et pour le calcul des variations (δ, Δ), la possibilité de faire des fautes, &c. Il s'exprimait avec chaleur pour le calcul de variations, et en faveur de Lagrange, préférant Laplace à tout autre d'aujourd'hui, et Lagrange à lui. On a causé sur les quantités negatives radicales. Il a des idées à lui là-dessus, et il trouve qu'elles sont un argument de plus contre les quantités negatives en général. Il a trouvé de même mes deux théorems sur les courbes $y^m=\frac{(a+x)}{(a-x)}$ que je lui ai expliqués, et qui ont paru le frapper. Il en a pris une note, et a promis d'y faire attention et d'essayer la résolution de la difficulté qu'il dit dans ce moment il ne peut pas surmonter ou expliquer. Il m'a donné deux de ses ouvrages sur la mathématique. Il s'exprimait avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme sur Newton et sur Ivory, mais n'avait pas apparemment lu son dernier mémoire.

"La géométrie ayant répandu beaucoup de confiance entre nous, nous nous sommes mis sans gêne à discuter mille choses interessantes.

"Robespierre dans le commencement n'avait pas d'idée de commander: cela lui est venue avec le temps. Après avoir fait couper des têtes l'une après l'autre, il s'est dit, 'Si je me débarrasse de tous ces messieurs, je pourrai commander moi-même à tout.' 'Etait-il enthousiaste?' 'Oui d'abord, mais il était bien méchant aussi; il avait peu de génie, mais il avait les paroles à la main. Il avait été avocât, et habile homme dans son métier. Il était vif, mais sans des vues étendues; une personne toutefois marquante. Je l'ai beaucoup connu. Nous étions beaucoup liés ensemble dans le comité de salut public, mais je l'ai toujours appro-

fondi. Barrère n'était pas méchant, mais très faible. Il vit encore. Collot et Billaud Varennes étaient les plus détéstables et méprisables de tous. Cependant, après la chûte de Robespierre, quand il était question de les proscrire, j'avançai et courus à la Tribune. Je voyais qu'il fallait me jeter dans la brèche, que s'il arrivait à ces vauriens d'être tués, chaque tête dans la convention chancelait; qu'après la mort de Robespierre, pas une goutte de sang ne devait couler. Ainsi je disais que je ferai cause commune avec eux, quoique tout le monde savait très bien que je n'avais jamais eu aucune liaison avec eux. Mais cela faisait d'autant plus valoir mes efforts en leur faveur. J'ai réussi, et la terreur a disparu. Je crois m'être conduit précisément dans la même manière, dans ce moment en m'opposant aux démarches fausses et imprudentes des Émigrés contre les révolutionaires. Si l'on commence par ceux qu'on accuse de la mort de Louis XVI., la contre-révolution ira très loin. C'est au premier pas qu'il faut résister.'

"Ensuite, il m'a fait remarquer qu'après son retour d'Anvers, et que tout *était fini* pour Napoléon, il a pris l'engagement pour servir le roi, qu'il aurait servi de bonne foi et même avec le zèle que sa patrie demandait, mais que les commencements d'une contre-révolution, la mauvaise foi, la méprise des promesses, &c., l'avait mis dans la nécessité de s'opposer au nouveau système. Quant à la presse, après des semaines entières de calomnies contre lui et sa mémoire, quand il avait voulu faire dire au monde, seulement que la publication n'était pas de lui, il avait eu la plus grande difficulté, et même des intrigues, pour persuader à un journaliste (le seul qui y a consenti)

d'insérer trois lignes pour marquer qu'il ne l'avait pas publié.

"Au sujet de la mort du roi, il en a hautement accusé les Émigrés, avec Louis XVIII. à leur tête, en disant que Louis XVI. en était persuadé lui-même. L'émigration et la guerre que les Émigrés suscitaient et nourissaient contre la France, surtout le manifeste du Duc de Brunswick, étaient les causes des temps de la terreur en y servant aussi de prétexte. Les vrais modérés se trouvaient dans un embarras extrême de tous côtés. Le peuple effrayé les accusait de tout ce que faisaient les Émigrés et l'ennemi. Des autres s'en sont servis comme prétexte assez plausible. Puis l'appui et le soutien naturel du parti royaliste leur manquaient totalement. Si ces royalistes étaient restés en France, très surement le parti modéré l'aurait emporté. Il n'avait jamais lu la brochure du Colonel Titus; mais l'ouvrage de Milton et quelques autres de cette époque-là lui sont connus.

"Robespierre était très souvent un instrument dans les mains des Émigrés sans s'en douter. Ils lui donnerent des victimes par leurs agents, et l'on remarquait toujours que c'était les meilleurs républicains, les plus grands ennemis des royalistes, qu'il a proscrits.

"Quant à la mort du roi, il dit que ceux qui la voulaient n'en étaient pas tout-à-fait les maîtres; ils avaient le choix d'y consentir ou de se laisser égorger eux-mêmes par le peuple de Paris, et plonger leur patrie dans une guerre civile interminable, sans pouvoir sauver le roi. L'opinion publique s'était hautement et presqu'unaniment prononcée—au moins, celle de tous ceux qui pouvaient agir ou influer. J'ai demandé, 'Qu'est ce qui aurait résulté si vous aviez laissé

échapper le roi après son retour de Varennes?' 'Nous aurions été tous déchirés, et les massacres n'auraient que commencé par nous.' J'ai remarqué que même quand j'aurais voté la mort d'abord, sitôt que j'eus trouvé la très petite pluralité qui en a décidé, le lendemain j'aurais probablement proposé, pour cette raison seule, la révocation du jugement. Il m'a répondu que cette opinion venait d'un faux calcul; que quoique la pluralité pour la mort n'était que de six ou sept voix, les autres étaient très divisées entre eux; que quelques uns avaient voulu le déporter, quelques uns l'emprisonner, des autres l'envoyer aux galères—punitions revoltantes, scandaleuses, aussi cruelles que la mort, même peut-être plus odieuses, et qui n'auraient nullement assurées la paix à la France. Encore une fois, si le roi avait été sauvé et gardé à Paris, il aurait été le point de ralliement pour tous les intrigants et contre-révolutionaires dans une crise de guerre extérieure conduite par des Émigrés français. Il m'a dit que selon lui rien ne pouvait excuser le crime de porter les armes contre la patrie. Aussi l'avait il toujours posé pour principe étant membre du Directoire Exécutif, et toujours très favorable aux Émigrés revenants de demander à chaque entrée si la personne avait porté les armes contre la France, et de favoriser ceux seuls qui avaient émigré dans un moment de frayeur ou de faiblesse, des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards, mais de s'opposer vivement à ceux qui avaient servi avec l'ennemi. Il avouait que la fin de Moreau lui paraissait fort coupable; qu'il le condamnait sans balancer quoiqu'intimement lié avec lui, l'ayant toujours eu en grande amitié, tant politique que personelle, et possédant une correspondence suivie avec lui d'une grande importance. Il

l'a décrit comme vraiment grand militaire; homme probe, vertueux et désintéressé, mais qui n'était nullement fait pour la politique, et ne s'y connaissant pas du tout. Bonaparte était très jaloux de lui, à cause du grand crédit dont il jouissait avec l'armée. Mais il avait voulu le marier avec la Princesse Borghese, parti que Moreau refusait à cause de son amour pour Mlle. Hulot, et sa répugnance pour le caractère peu honnête de la Princesse, et la vie scandaleuse qu'elle menait. C'était le projet de Bonaparte de l'avoir fait Prince au lieu de Bernadotte. Son refus lui a vraiment déplu.

"Les grandes fautes qu'avait fait Bonaparte en politique lui sont bien connu. Entre autres, la guerre de Russie contre notre commerce. Mais je remarquai qu'il n'avait pas assez clairement suivi les détails de cette bévue. Il était frappé du récit que je lui en fis, et il avouait qu'il était tout simple que les préparatifs pour l'invasion de la Russie même sans entrer en Allemagne, surtout l'occupation de la Pologne, sans pénétrer plus loin, aurait détruit notre commerce, et rempli le but principal de la guerre Russe. Faute de papiers Anglais de cette époque-là, il me paraissait (comme tous ceux que j'ai vus excepté M. de la Fayette, qui pourra avoir puisé ses connaissances dans la conversation depuis la paix) mal instruit sur notre histoire intérieure depuis 1806. Aussi j'ai remarqué qu'il n'avait pas été tout-à-fait au courant même des affaires étrangères depuis la Paix d'Amiens, excepté celles qui regardaient la France, et qui sont d'une importance majeure—par example, en parlant du jugement de Lord Cochrane, il avait oublié l'affaire des rades de Basque.

"J'osai lui demander s'il ne s'était pas aperçu du complot que l'on trainait contre lui et Barthélémy, &c., avant le 18 Fructidor, et pourquoi l'armée au moins n'était pas de son côté. Il dit que oui, qu'il savait parfaitement bien de quoi il était question—que l'armée l'aurait soutenu contre qui que ce fût—qu'il avait reçu des offres de leurs services—qu'il n'avait été averti des démarches de ses collégues, mais, qu'il n'avait rien à choisir, excepté la dictature ou la proscription, et que s'il avait réussi, tout serait fait de la liberté et de la république; il lui aurait fallû prendre le parti de se faire dictateur ou de consigner la France à une guerre civile; qu'il a préféré la proscription, et par principe et par egoïsme; car, dit-il, je n'ai jamais voulu me placer dans la plus haute élévation où l'on est obligé de tyranniser si l'on ne veut pas tomber au fond. Ce sont des positions qui n'offrent pas de projet mitoyen.

"Quand il s'est retiré, il resta quelque temps à Augsburg et Nuremberg et à Génève, menant une vie assez paisible et même dure, pas seulement par la séclusion mais par la difficulté d'obtenir ce qu'il lui fallait d'argent. Le Directoire Exécutif lui a opposé toutes sortes d'obstacles et de désagréments — l'a entouré d'espions et d'agents, et bien des fois sa sureté personelle a été en danger.

"Quand je lui ai conseillé de faire le voyage d'Angleterre, il m'a répondu que d'abord il n'était pas sûr qu'on le recevrait trop bien, aussi que la dépense pourrait le gêner. Je remarquai que certainement il y avait des cercles chez nous, ou il serait assez mal accuelli dans le commencement. Par exemple, si Monsieur Burke vivait encore, qui l'avait esquissé de cette drôle de manière (snorting away the fumes, &c.).

Il a ri un peu en demandant si M. Burke était mort, et quand. Quand j'ai fait son éloge, il a été d'accord, cependant sans paraître trop bien instruit du personnage. Mais aussitôt, qu'en passant je nommai M. Wyndham comme de l'école de M. Burke, il a dit, 'Ah! oui; il a été ministre de la guerre.' Il parlait avec plaïsir d'avoir fait la connaisance de M. Fox. Il me nommait aussi Sir F. Burdett comme l'ayant connu.

"Je demandai si Bonaparte avait dans ce moment une correspondance en France. Il dit que non. Il était trop bien gardé et surveillé, mais que probablement il dépêchait quelqu'un de temps en temps pour voir ce qui se passait, et pour lui en rendre compte. Il me paraissait parler sur ce sujet même avec connaissance de cause, quoique je n'oserai pas dire que je ne me trompe là-dessus."

"CONVERSATION DU OCTOBRE 29, 1814.

"J'ai commencé par faire mention du projet de Talleyrand au congrès, en lui en faisant l'esquisse dont il n'avait même entendu parler. Il riait aux éclats, le traitait de ridicule, et remarquait qu'on aurait bien fait de répondre simplement. 'Allez vous en faire des conquêtes, vous avez oublié votre place.' Quand je lui ai observé que selon moi ce projet ne voulait dire simplement, que la France demandoit la Belgique, il a répondu, que oui; mais, ce n'est plus le moment pour demander, quand on s'est laissé battre. Il est revenu sur le sujet de la prise de Paris, en prétendant que si l'on s'était défendu comme il le fallait, la ville n'aurait jamais été détruite.

"En parlant de Siéyès—'C'est un homme sans courage tout-à-fait; je n'ai jamais eu aucune liaison

avec lui. J'ai été admis au direction quand Siéyès avait refusé la place. D'ailleurs, je n'ai jamais fait grand cas des faiseurs de constitutions, surtout quand on les fait sous la baïonette. Il y avait, c'est vrai, une occasion d'en avoir fait une qui eût value quelque-chose. C'était au moment que Bonaparte s'est fait Empereur.' Ce que selon lui Bonaparte aurait du faire, c'est-à-dire,—Garder sa place à la tête de la république jusque tout eut pris son assiètte, donner une bonne constitution républicaine à la France, et quand tout fût tranquille, céder sa place—ç'aurait été la plus belle chose que l'histoire a consacré à notre admiration, et le meilleur parti qu'il aurait pû prendre. Je lui ai demandé si cette idée s'était jamais presenté à l'esprit de Bonaparte. 'Certainement,' dit-il; 'j'avais eu bien soin de cela; je lui ai fait parvenir mon opinion par écrit là-dessus, et quoique il était (comme les Bourbons) entouré de flagorneurs, il a dit (à ce qu'on m'en a conté), "Il n'y a que l'avis de Carnot qui a le sens commun." Depuis cette époque je l'ai vu deux fois—l'une était après la campagne de Vienne. Il m'a dit, "Je vous en ai bien voulu pour votre opinion et votre voix, mais je vous dis franchement que vous avez raison."'

"J'ai parlé de la bataille d'Aspern en la qualifiant du titre de la seule grande défaite qu'ont soutenues les armes de la France. Il était d'accord, en ajoutant que Bonaparte seulement avait échappé à une défaite beaucoup plus complète. Carnot était d'avis que les Autrichiens auraient dû en tirer beaucoup plus de parti, et Bonaparte lui-même le pensait. Quand j'émis l'opinion qui m'avait fait commencer cette discussion dans la chambre des communes, que l'Angleterre aurait

pu empêcher les suites de la bataille en interrompant la jonction du viceroi, il dit qu'il n'y avait point de doute là-dessus.

"Bonaparte parlait de l'Archiduc Charles, en se moquant de lui : il disait, C'est bien heureux d'avoir à faire à ce Prince ; j'ai toujours su par des espions deux jours avant tout ce qu'il allait faire au lieu que personne ne savait mes plans une demie-heure avant ; même ma main droite ne savait pas ce que ma main gauche ferait. Aussi ai-je bien joué ce bon Prince. Il voyait que j'avais fait batir un beau pont, il ne pouvait pas concevoir que je ne passerais pas la rivière par là. Je n'en avais aucune idée ; il a porté ses forces sur ce point-là. Je passe de l'autre côté et le bat entièrement.

"M. Carnot avouait que le Prince Charles avait de grands moyens, mais un caractère indécis, et qu'il était anéanti par des conseils de guerre qui ne valent jamais rien. Nous avons causé sur la campagne de 1796 en Souabe. Le plan était que Jourdan et Moreau s'avanceraient également ensemble, Moreau allait comme de raison lentement. L'autre s'impatientait, et s'avançait trop. Le Prince Charles, s'en aperçu, adroitement fondait sur lui, entre lui et Moreau, le battait et le forçait de reculer, tombait sur Moreau qui alors fit cette belle retraite qu'on ne peut pas trop louer. Il parlait avec une très grande admiration du talent qu'a montré le Prince Charles dans cette affaire-là, de profiter des bévues de Jourdan. J'ai parlé des faux pas de l'Archiduc, surtout du siège de Kehl, qui a donné si beau jeu à Moreau. Il dit que c'était certainement une très grande faute, mais que l'enlèvement de 2400 hommes en 1799 pour faire la siège de

Philipsburg en était une plus fatale encore, si toute fois c'en était une.

"En parlant de la conscription, il dit que Bonaparte en avait abusé, et l'avait aussi réduite plus au système, mais que c'était du temps de la révolution,—on l'apellait là réquisition, mais c'était la même chose. Elle est venue comme tous nos malheurs et presque tous nos efforts, de l'émigration. On nous attaquait; point d'armée, et le recrutement n'allait pas; on levait, par réquisition, une million tout de suite. Si la guerre s'allume, la conscription, peut-être sous quelque autre nom, doit recommencer aussi. Autrefois on donnait 30 francs pour un recrut. Pendant la guerre parmi les conscrits on a donné jusqu'à six mille et dix mille remplaçants. Elle n'a pas été très odieuse. Depuis deux ans on s'en plaignait, mais tout cela est oublié, et l'on reclame mille fois plus et l'on est effectivement plus mécontent de la continuation des droits unis, surtout après les promesses très indiscrètes du Comte d'Artois, qui aurait dû savoir que sans cet impôt-là, les finances ne peuvent pas aller. D'abord la conscription pese et afflige le conscrit, mais il se dit tout à l'heure, Eh bien! me voilà soldat!—je pourrai devenir lieutenant, sous-capitaine, et ensuite Maréchal de France. C'est ce qui est arrivé à d'autres—pourquoi pas à moi? Alors il s'interesse dans son devoir pour l'apprendre. On ne le tourmente pas comme en Allemagne des petites choses qui ne valent rien. Il se distingue, il obtient des louanges, des ordres, &c.; il est soldat tout aussi zélé que s'il n'avait jamais été conscrit.

"Il dit que le Gouvernement est assez mépris à Paris, mais beaucoup moins aimé dans les provinces.

Les paysans craignent le rétablissement des droits féodaux, surtout du *dixme*, qui pesait infiniment sur leurs profits.

"Je demandais s'il n'était pas en danger lui-même, à Paris, dans ce moment. Il croyait que non, en disant que le Gouvernement voudrait peut-être lui faire des tracasseries, mais qu'il se tenait très ferme, et en même temps menait une vie très privée et discrète, ne voyant presque personne—n'allant jamais dans la société, excepté à l'Institut, et ne fréquentant point des coteries, surtout politiques. 'D'ailleurs,' dit-il, 'je suis très populaire; le soldat m'aime naturellement, et le peuple de Paris m'est très attaché: de manière que je ne peux pas aller en ville, dans les rues ou les boutiques, sans en recevoir les témoignages. Si le Gouvernement faisait quelque chose de violent sur mon compte, je ne vous dis pas qu'on ferait revolter le peuple, mais je suis sûr, que de telles démarches donneraient une très grande secousse à l'opinion publique, et ne pourraient qu'être fort dangereuses.'

"Quand je pris la liberté de lui témoigner le grand plaisir que j'aurais de causer encore une fois avec lui sur la politique et les sciences, et de lui proposer de diner ensemble à l'hôtel du Nord avec Lord Ponsonby (beau-frère de Lord Grey, pour qui, il témoignait beaucoup de consideration), il m'a dit que cela ne lui serait aucunement possible; car, par prudence, il ne le faisait jamais, dans de telles crises."

In the summer of 1814 (I think, in the month of July), Carnot addressed a memorial to Louis XVIII., the object of which was to lay before the King the great evils that would arise from any breach

of faith with the republican party, or any departure from the stipulations which had been agreed upon that their personal safety should be assured. There were many circumstances connected with this memorial, which, although written, had never been *published* by Carnot, that were so interesting at the time, that I took some trouble to ascertain the exact facts, in order that I might give a correct representation of the case in a review of the memorial which I intended to write.* When the article was printed, I found an opportunity of sending a copy to Carnot, and this produced from him the following letter:—

"PARIS, *Janvier* 24, 1815.

"MONSIEUR,—Votre digne ami M. le Comte de Surakowski m'a remis la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, ainsi que le cahier de Novembre du Journal d'Edimbourg. Il m'a mis au fait de ce qui regarde l'extrait qui me concerne dans le Journal, et m'a fait connoître la personne respectable à laquelle j'en ai l'obligation; je la prie d'en recevoir mes sincères remercimens, et d'être bien convaincue du plaisir que j'aurai de la revoir à Paris, comme elle me le fait espérer.

"Agréer, Monsieur, la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, CARNOT."

Immediately on my return to London, I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

"TEMPLE, *November* 7, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—On my return last Wednesday, I learnt, on calling in Portman Square, that

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. XLVII., art. x.

you were expected on Saturday; and I now learn with real sorrow that you are not able to come—not, indeed, that I ever expected the poor boy's recovery, but because, from his gaining strength, I thought he might have gone over the winter, and allowed me to see you in town. My chief desire was to give you any information as to the state of things in France. Bonaparte's popularity, now revived since his banishment to Elba, the contempt of the Bourbons, their bad conduct, the hatred of England, inflamed by our folly in sending Wellington there, the state of parties and of individuals, the love of war and horror of losing Belgium, the *Slave-Trade*, with various other matters. By letter one can't say anything satisfactory. The best way is by being questioned, and answering.

"If there is no chance of your being here before Xmas, I must send you a very precious communication—namely, full notes of very long and interesting conversations I had with Carnot (by far their greatest and most virtuous man), respecting every curious and important particular of the Revolution — times of terror—Directory—campaigns and Bonaparte—and the present state of things. I have already shown this to Romilly, but now I mean to show it only to yourself, and one, or at most two, others whom I can rely on. I saw the Duke of Orleans also, and Lafayette, with others.

"My clear conviction is, that *you* ought to make a run over there for a fortnight, to see with your own eyes. If you'll go at Xmas, I am going to bring back my mother, whose illness unhappily obliged me to leave her behind.

"You should go alone, *en garçon*, and might, by having the proper things and persons pointed out, see as much in a week as another would in a month. It is really important, as a public matter, that you should go and see and hear. That it is agreeable, I venture to assure you. I never spent any time by half so delightfully; my fortnight there passed away like a day. It required no small fortitude to come over here to law; and as for politics, Paris has made me quite indifferent to them, for I found (what I never could before) that I could enjoy life thoroughly without ever thinking of parties.

"*You* would at once be at home. The Ponsonbys and many others are there, and those who know one another make little coteries, and live together.—Yours sincerely, H. BROUGHAM."

Accordingly, I took an early opportunity of sending to Lord Grey the conversation as I have here given it.

CHAPTER XII.

The Prince and Princess of Wales.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS CIRCLE AT CARLTON HOUSE—THE PRINCESS CAROLINE—HER CIRCLE—THE DELICATE INVESTIGATION—THE QUARREL—CORRESPONDENCE—THE YOUNG PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY—THE PRINCE'S SEVERANCE FROM HIS POLITICAL FRIENDS — WHITBREAD — MR BROUGHAM AS ADVISER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES AND HER DAUGHTER — KING GEORGE III. — HIS LETTER TO THE PRINCE ON THE SITUATION—LETTER OF REMONSTRANCE BY THE PRINCESS TO THE PRINCE—ACCOUNT OF ITS PREPARATION —DELIBERATIONS—ITS DELIVERY AND RECEPTION—MADAME DE STAËL.

For some years I had refused to be presented to the Princess of Wales because of the open quarrel between her and the Prince, a matter in which I did not wish to be at all mixed up, and which those who frequented her society, and were persons of any consideration, with difficulty avoided. Not that I had the least intercourse with the Prince, having only become acquainted with him by his desire that I should be asked to meet him at Melbourne House, where he treated me with the courtesy that belongs to all the family. He was on intimate terms with some of my particular friends, especially Erskine and the Hollands; and Romilly, who was his Solicitor-General for the Duchy.

I was exceedingly pleased with his society. His conversation was that of a very clever person, and he had considerable powers of mimicry. I recollect his taking off Thurlow, who was then living, and also the Stadtholder, respecting whom his talk was very free; and the stories he told of that prince in reference to his own mother and sisters, the English princesses, did not seem quite fitting before persons whom he saw for the first time. But altogether one should have regarded him as a clever and agreeable member of society had he been a common person, and might even have been struck with him. This was in 1805. Next year the *Delicate Investigation* took place, to the great discredit of the Whig Ministry, and in which it was very much to be lamented that Romilly's official position compelled him to take a part—the proceeding being an inquiry, behind the Princess's back, whether or not she had been guilty of high treason.* Having an invitation to dine at Carlton House, I ventured to avoid going by leaving home for a day or two, and this made my declining to be presented at Kensington the more natural. It was not till late in 1809 that Dudley and Sir William Drummond, who were constantly there, persuaded me to go as to a house where agreeable society was always assembled. Canning was constantly there, and I had no other opportunity of seeing him, which I the rather wished, as we had had some differences on the Orders in Council at the time when I was counsel for the commercial interests. His friend Charles Ellis (afterwards Lord Seaford) and Granville Leveson (afterwards Lord Granville) also frequented the Princess's society. A friend whom I

* See above, p. 74.

greatly esteemed, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and her sister, Lady Glenbervie, were among her ladies, both, like all the North family, persons equally agreeable and clever; so that without taking any part at all in the controversy, I went there as Rogers, Luttrell, and others did, whom the Princess liked extremely to have about her. Canning I often met there; Perceval and Eldon never; but she always spoke of them with great kindness, only she called Eldon "old Baggs," as all the royal family did, which once caused a droll mistake, when the Regent said, "Send for old Baggs," and the page in waiting summoned Mr Banks, who came in court-dress, and was kept waiting in the antechamber till the mistake was discovered, which, it is said, he did not soon if ever forgive. The conversation at Kensington was quite free from any troublesome restraint of etiquette, but always with the respect, both in form and substance, due to royalty.

The Princess had been ill-used by her husband from the very first, as we shall find by looking back to the beginning of her maltreatment, upon her first arrival in this country, when Lady Jersey was forced into her household, and was in league with the Prince to misconstrue all her words and actions; and, although in her service nominally, to act as the Prince's ally against her.

The following letter to him urges, or rather repeats, her complaints on this subject:—

"Je suis trop pénétrée des devoirs que m'imposent les relations que j'ai avec vous pour blesser en quoique ce soit votre délicatesse, je ne decide point des raisons pour lesquelles vous croyez devoir ménager Lady Jersey, et je ne souhaite pas du tout de lui nuir dans l'opinion publique, mais j'en appelle à votre

mémoire sur le manière dont elle s'est conduite vis-à-vis de moi à Brighton; elle etoit telle, que je suis en droit d'après votre lettre même d'insister qu'elle demande sa rétraite; une femme qui j'ai raison de regarder comme la cause de la désunion qui regne malheureusement entre nous, ne peut que m'être personellement désagréable. Vous avez du sens et un cœur—mettez vous à ma place, et prononçez!! Après cet aveu que je vous fais, ma surprise est grande de voir Lady Jersey s'obstiner à rester à mon service, en dépit de l'idée qu'elle sait que je dois avoir d'elle, c'est annoncer un manque absolu de delicatesse. Ce seroit agir en ami avec elle que de lui persuader de faire sans hésiter davantage, cette démarche; personne ne pourra m'imputer le motif d'agir en personne, qui manque d'estime pour vous quand je vous demande de consentir à ce que je désire avec tant de justice. Vous me conjurez de ne pas mettre obstacle à la bonne intelligence que vous croyez devoir résulter de l'accord que vous me proposez; je vous conjure, à mon tour, de vous rappeller ce que je suis en droit d'attendre de vous, et des sentimens paternels que vous devez à votre enfant qui souffrira toute sa vie de notre désunion.—Je suis, avec la plus grande sincérité, votre devouée CAROLINE.

"*Le* 28 *de Mai* 1796."

The matter was brought before the King (George III.), and he obtained a promise from the Prince that the cause of the Princess's complaints should cease. A report having been circulated that she showed repugnance to a perfect reconciliation with the Prince, she at once wrote as follows to the King:—

"SIRE,—Je me vois encore dans la facheuse nécessité de troubler la tranquillité de votre Majesté par une lettre qui intéresse essentiellement mon bonheur et mon répos, et de récourir a Ses Sages Conseils. C'est avec la plus grande surprise que j'ai appris que l'on répandoit dans le public le bruit de ma répugnance à me prêter à une parfaite réconciliation avec le Prince de Galles; tandis qu'il ne peut y avoir de bonheur pour moi, que dans un rapprochement sincère avec lui: je supplie donc votre Majesté de me rendre la justice de croire, malgré tous les rapports contraires qu'on pourra lui en faire, que ce sont là mes véritables sentimens.

"J'ai l'honneur de joindre ici une copie de la réponse que j'ai faite à Lord Moira sur les propositions du Prince, que votre Majesté juge elle même, si le Prince est en droit de s'en offenser, puis qu'elle n'a pas été donné dans l'idée de lui prescrire des termes, mais seulement, parceque je n'étois malheureusement, que trop persuadée que c'étoit l'unique moyen d'obtenir cette vraie réconciliation dont dépend mon seul bonheur.

"J'ai l'honneur de me dire, avec le plus profond respect, Sire, de votre Majesté la très humble et très obeissante fille et sujette, CAROLINE.

"*Ce* 19 *de Juin* 1796."

To this the King next day answered as follows:—

"WINDSOR, *ce* 20*me*. *Juin* 1796.

"MADAME MA FILLE,—J'ai reçu hier votre lettre au sujet du bruit répandu dans le public de votre répugnance à vous prêter à une parfaite réconciliation

avec mon Fils le Prince de Galles; je ne disconviens pas que cette opinion commence à prendre racine, et qu'il n'y a qu'une manière de la detruire, c'est que mon Fils ayant consenti que la Comtesse de Jersey doit, suivant votre désir, quitter votre service, et ne pas être admise à votre société privée, vous devez témoigner votre désir qu'il revient chez lui, et que pour rendre la réconciliation complète on doit des deux côtés s'abstenir de reproches, et ne faire des confidences à d'autres sur ce sujet. Une conduite si propre certainement remettra cette union entre mon Fils et vous, qui est un des événemens que j'ai le plus à cœur. Mon fils le Duc de York vous remettra cette lettre, et vous assuréra de plus de l'amitié sincère avec laquelle je suis, Madame Ma Belle Fille, votre très affectionné Beau Père,

"GEORGE R."

Upon receiving this letter she immediately, indeed on the same day, wrote as follows to the Prince:—

"Je saisis avec le plus grand empressement les ordres de Sa Majesté Le Roi, qui dans la lettre dont il vient de m'honorer, me marque que vous cedez à ses désirs, ce qui me pénétre de la plus vive joye. Je vois donc arriver avec un plaisir extrême, le moment qui vous raprochera de Carlton House, et qui va terminer pour toujours une mesintelligence dont je vous assure que de mon côté il ne sera plus question. Si vous me faites l'honneur de rechercher ma société à l'avenir, je mettrai tous mes efforts à la rendre agréable. Si j'ai pû jamais vous déplair, soyez assez généreux pour me le pardonner, et comptez sur une réconnoissance qui ne finera qu'avec ma vie. J'ose m'en flatter

comme mère de votre enfant et comme celle qui est votre toute devouée CAROLINE.

"*Le* 20 *Juin* 1796."

On the anniversary of his birth, 11th of August, she wrote to him as follows :—

"Ce n'est qu'au nom de ma fille que je hasarde de vous écrire ces peu de lignes, et de me joindre à ses sentiments qu'elle ne peut pas encore exprimer ; nous faisons mutuellement des vœux pour votre bonheur, et la continuation de votre precieuse santé—c'est un jour si interessant pour nous deux que nous ne saurions le laisser passer sans vous le témoigner, et sous ce titre vous me pardonnez, j'éspère, cette liberté.

"J'ose me flatter cependant qu'en aimant votre fille, vous protégerez la mère, qui en sentira toute sa vie la plus parfaite réconnaissance, et qui est votre très devouée CAROLINE.

"*Ce* 11 *d'Août* 1796, CARLTON HOUSE."

To which the Prince replied :—

"MADAME,—Je saisis le premier moment pour vous remercier de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire, et que j'ai reçu hier, a l'occasion de l'anniversaire de mon jour de naissance. Acceptez aussi bien mes remerciments pour la manière que vous vous y exprimez, tant pour ma fille que pour vous même, et soyez en assuré que personne ne saurait en être plus sensible que moi.

"C'est avec sentiments de réconnoissance que j'ai l'honneur de m'écrire, Madame, votre très humble serviteur, GEORGE, P.

"WEYMOUTH, *le* 13 *d'Août*."

This letter is barely civil, and plainly shows that there had been no alteration in his intentions, and that all his concessions respecting Lady Jersey had been wrung from him by the King; for immediately after, his treatment of her was worse than ever.

The Princess never consulted me on any subject connected with her own affairs during the first two years, 1809 and 1810, except as to taking Lady Charlotte Campbell as one of her ladies, which she had been strongly pressed to do, as an act of kindness; and she asked if I thought she would be a safe person, considering the Prince's plan of surrounding her with spies, and the absurd attempts made in 1806, after the charge had failed, to construe everything into want of becoming reserve and proper state.

The Princess of Wales had, on the part of her daughter, and by her desire, consulted me as to the Prince. I think this was in the latter end of 1810.

Differences existed, and the Princess Charlotte taking part with her mother gave rise to constant disputes, as did the appointment of her ladies and governor. The Princess Charlotte was desirous, therefore, of ascertaining on what footing she stood in point of right, and whether she was entirely subject to his pleasure and control, more especially as she was anxious to have an establishment or household formed, when in a few years she would be eighteen. I fully examined the whole subject, and gave her all the information possible, showing her that by law the power of the Crown is absolute over all the members of the royal family, and particularly that the sovereign for the time being has the exclusive right to direct their education, residence, guardianship, in all particulars

while under age. It had been so solemnly decided by a conference of all the twelve judges, one only differing, or rather expressing doubts. The Princess Charlotte asked to have my opinion rather than Perceval's or Eldon's, whom she knew to be at that time her mother's advisers, because they might be supposed to take part against her father.

Early in 1811 Lady Charlotte Lindsay received the following letter from the Princess of Wales :—

"*January* 3, 1811.

"My dear Lady Charlotte,—I am like the Roman Empire, in a state of 'decadence.' When you meet me again in the month of March, the most violent pain, which you must remember I had once in my loins at the time you were with me at Kensington, paid me again a visit on the eve of New-Year's Day, and wished me joy (I suppose) on the season. This visitor gave me the most insinuating pain imaginable; and the spirit of turpentine, which I used most unmercifully upon my old carcass, has vanished the phantom who destroyed my peace like Major Arvay" (*sic*), "which deprived me from meeting you at dear Lady Glenbervie's, if not a cold had oppressed you also. I don't invite you for Monday, as I am not sure whether you will at that time not already be at the Priory; besides, it will be very dull, as only duty brings me to town, to make first a visit in Hanover Square, and then an early dinner at five o'clock at Kensington. I only sleep one night there, as they tell me it is not proper to fly by night, 'pour la future Reine,' though I trust and hope that I am safer now than I have ever been—that that misfortune will not

come over my head, as the accounts are every day better and better. I hope you are delighted with my dear friend Canning's speech,* which was eloquent, judicious, and energetic. I have seen nobody since last Sunday. I sat between two philosophers, the one Greek and the other Hebrew. Mrs Fish sat opposite them, like the figure of Justice with the scales in her hands, measuring their words and sentiments, which, I am sure she, even by concatenation of ideas, did not understand, and they were like hypotheses and hyperboles to her waking brain.

"By the newspapers of to-day I see that Lady Oxford is arrived at her new residence; and if it is the case that for once they say the truth, tell her that I shall be at Kensington on the 7th, and if she will come at ten o'clock, with my Lord and Lady Jane—Lord Archibald—I shall be delighted; otherwise she must come one morning, which we will then fix, to Blackheath.

"Give my love to your friends at Lisbon, and tell them in what a state of seclusion I now live in, and of despair that they are from their native country. The first restrictions which it seems the present Regent has made upon Kensington is to be to appear in the garment of melancholy on the 7th, which, of course, as I am his first subject, I submit to without protest. I suppose you know that I remain here in this delightful and solitary recluse and sedentary residence till the 9th of February. My best compliments to Lord and Lady Abercrombie, and to the proud Aberdeen, who will not accept my box, at which I am very angry; for the moment Miss Flayman comes, I

* On the Regency—defence of Pitt.

intend to procure a person who shall take it entirely off my hands for the present season, as certainly I shall not go again to the play for a long time. The reason I will tell you when we meet. I wish Miss Flayman was now with me, as she is entertaining and of high spirits, and at Kensington she is as a lost good between the many entertaining and pleasant people I meet there. Even the snow don't prevent me from walking. I have only been two days confined to my room. It is very true that a certain portfolio has been very much increased since my 'séjour in this little cabane.' I am now about writing a novel, of which the scene lies in Greece, and the topography of Mr Gell's book will be of very great use to me to make it as probable as possible.

"I expect Mrs Pole in ten days. Poor dear Mrs Beauclerk does nothing but writing, and plaguing me to death with her unentertaining letters. I answered her for once, and told her that from my fireside, and the snow on the top house, and Mrs Leslie's witticisms, I could not make out any sort of suitable letter to a friend; but, unmercifully, she has answered me immediately, two instead of one.

"Now I think it is high time that I also close my letter, as otherwise I fear you would also accuse me as I did Mrs Beauclerk, on the fluency of my pen and the sterility of subjects; and believe me only your sincere and affectionately, C. P."

In 1811, the Regent having broken with his wife's political and personal friends, and kept the Liverpools and Perceyals in office, all of that party, except Canning, Ward, and Granville Leveson, gave up the

Princess's acquaintance; and I recollect a dinner at her Blackheath villa, to which they were all invited, when Canning and Ward alone came, the rest of the chairs being unoccupied. This abandonment led to her and her daughter consulting me on all matters, and also Whitbread, who had lately made her acquaintance, though not the Princess Charlotte's. The cruel treatment went on as before. Above all, the intercourse with her daughter was more and more restricted, and there were indications of an intention to cut it entirely off. It was said she was to be confirmed without her mother being present. This would have been such a public condemnation of her as she could not be expected to bear without resistance; and both mother and daughter felt it alike, and viewed it in the same light. Before I left town I received the following letter from Whitbread. I give it, although it does not relate to the Princess of Wales:—

"SOUTHHILL, *August* 12, 1812.

"I ought to be ashamed of myself for not having returned an answer to your first letter at a much earlier period; but when you read, as you will do, in the paper of to-day, that on Monday last, and *not before*, was married the Hon. William Waldegrave to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Samuel Whitbread, Esq., you will perhaps pardon me; for I do assure you I have been very fully occupied. At last it is done; they are settled at Cardington, which we have made a most complete and beautiful cottage for them, and there is strong reason to hope they will be happy. Lady Elizabeth is just preparing to pay a visit to the bride, and is as reasonably happy as you can well imagine.

"Your success in the summer as well as in the winter theatres has been so great that I should have no hesitation in offering you an engagement. Your individual attraction would be great, but as Creevey has offered himself for low comedy, I think that by taking you both I should do wonders for the theatre. I have before me a letter just received from the old manager, who is living in retirement at Isleworth, away from the profligate capital, recovering his health and spirits in seclusion from an ungrateful world; his society the late King of France and the Princes of the Blood; and he says his Majesty is a better Whig than any of us.

"He further tells me that Mr Fitzgerald is Chancellor of Irish Exchequer, and Mr Peel Secretary for Ireland.

"Moreover, he says he could tell me a great deal more, and that he means to write every day.

"He had told me before that Canning was off, and his negotiation ended, because he was stout about the Catholic question, and that it had nothing to do with the lead in the House of Commons. He now tells me he was wrong in the point; that our point, I suppose, was *the* point; but I suppose, also, Canning is all on again, and that he will be the minister of the House of Commons somehow.

"Pray tell me, what I always forgot to ask you, who communicated to you all the civil speeches reported to have been made by Canning of me. It is mere matter of curiosity, but I should like to know how true the report.

"I am indeed uneasy about America. If the war shall die in its birth, go no further than the Declara-

tion, and that that shall be deemed as a *non-avenu*, the moment our revocation is known, it will be a good thing the Declaration should have been made for the reasons you state; but till I hear it is announced, I confess I shall be uneasy. The President will use the war for forwarding his own objects.

"I see our Birmingham friends are in high spirits, and seem to anticipate no evil.

"I have no faith in the declaration of Bonaparte in the north, nor do I feel quite confident, as so many do, that the French will very shortly be on the other side of the Ebro. But if the victory of Salamanca should be confirmed, I should forthwith despatch a proposal to Riga, where I suppose the Emperor will soon be found, with instructions to follow him on the road to Petersburg, if he should have taken it.

"Our harvest has begun this day, and our hay is not all in. The barometer rises, and we have a prospect of dry weather to get in the grain, which certainly in this part of the world has not yet suffered by the rain. But I was very much afraid days ago that corn would be nought.

"What work all this is! What! no bills of indictment at York—no rioters! What work at Leicester too! Well, I am very glad we did our duty.

"I shall be glad to hear from you at all times, and from all places, particularly from *Liverpool*. The best regards of the party here attend you.—Ever yours,

"S. WHITBREAD.

"Brand's brother is very ill. You are likely to lose a reformer from the nether House."

Before leaving town for the circuit (August 1812),

I had strongly urged upon both mother and daughter to have no communication with the Court, except in writing, well knowing what had previously been the consequence of verbal communications. When, therefore, Lord Grey, to whom I had mentioned generally the discords prevailing in the family, saw a newspaper paragraph mentioning that a correspondence was going on between the parties, I was convinced this must have some foundation; and I wrote to Lady Charlotte Lindsay what Grey had stated. The answer confirmed my notions, and it brought the draft of a letter which the Princess wished to send, after submitting it to me. I was desired to send the letters and answers to Lord Grey. I therefore wrote to him.

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *August* 22, 1812.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The Princess of Wales has desired me to send you the correspondence, and I shall by next post enclose a copy of her letter to Lady Charlotte Lindsay. There is a draft of a letter to be sent on the 29th, but I need not send it. Indeed, I wish to revise and alter it a little, in case it should be thought right that the letter shall not bear internal marks of being her own, for at present it is in *German*, rather than English. She has behaved with great discretion, and even judgment and skill. I'll thank you to return these letters when you have perused and considered them, and to give me your thoughts on the subject. I have, as yet, only recommended to prepare a full and temperate remonstrance, stating the case, and to present it in the most formal and respectful manner, in case the system is persevered in,—meaning

such a paper as might hereafter be made public, when a proper time arrived, if this step should become necessary.—Ever most truly yours,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"*P.S.*—Romilly is to be at Durham (as Chancellor of the County Palatine) on the 25th or 26th, and then he goes to Scotland, I believe. I wish you would write and ask him to go to Howick, for I am sure he would like it much, and he is always the better for associating with the leaders of the party. I have fixed nothing about Liverpool, except to go to the dinner on the 4th. The nearer I view such a place, the more I feel afraid of the drudgery of it, even if all were secure. I have resolved, if bad news arrives from America, to ask them to put off the celebration until all is made up in that quarter, for really until then we have done nothing. That ultimately it must be settled I am quite confident, but the delay is very injurious.

"Pray don't you think that if the news is decidedly warlike, there should be addresses to the Prince to assemble Parliament? If you think so, it can be done with great ease in all the towns."

Lord Grey answered this letter as follows:—

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *August* 29, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have delayed returning the Princess's papers longer than I ought, but I thought whilst you were occupied at Lancaster it could not be of much consequence, and I have been a good deal occupied myself, both by visitors and by

business. I now send them all in three separate covers which accompany this. The Prince's conduct has been such as we may be pretty sure it will be on all occasions. He has given the Princess a great advantage, which it requires only common prudence on her part to turn to good account; and hitherto she appears to me to have conducted herself very judiciously. I think you did quite right in recommending that the letter should be sent as she had written it. It is very good in substance, and the style proving it to be her own is an advantage. A full remonstrance, for which there is an abundance of excellent topics, if it becomes necessary, should be carefully written; and in a formal step of that nature she could not be supposed to act without an adviser. I hope, however, that it will not be necessary; and from what Macmahon says in his note, I am inclined to believe that they will not object to the Princess Charlotte's going to Kensington once a-week.

"Remember your promise to pay us a visit. I hear much better accounts of Thanet.—Ever yours,

"GREY."

At this time I received the following from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"SHEFFIELD PLACE, *September* 2, 1812.

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I received both your letters, with the enclosure quite safe. I communicated the contents of them to H.R.H., who has sent me so many messages to you in her answer that I think the shortest way is to send you her letter, which I

need not trouble you to return. Lady de Clifford caught the inflammation in her eyes at a charming *fête* given at Princess Elizabeth's Cottage, where the rain not only penetrated their clothes, but also played the part of *soup*, and filled their dishes and plates at dinner. I fear it will do more serious damage. '*The Maid of Orleans*' means Lady Anne Hamilton, who is to succeed Lady Charlotte Campbell in Waiting, and for whose *unmarried* condition the Duke of Gloucester expressed *much concern*. I have not heard of the Regent's intention of visiting Liverpool, but perhaps he may intend to proceed there from Warwickshire.—Believe me, my dear Mr Brougham, yours very sincerely, C. LINDSAY.

"I send you with this a letter just received from the Princess."

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—Many thanks for your two kind notes; and I beg of you to send, as soon as possible, the two enclosed papers to Mr Brougham; and mention to him, in the first place, that he is at liberty to show all the papers, present and future, to Lord Grey; secondly, that Lady Elizabeth and Mr Whitbread saw the papers, and are aware of this cruel treatment; thirdly, that my daughter is perfectly aware of this dreadful barbarism, and that if possible her attachment is more steady and strong than ever before; and her eyes are completely opened to all the bad proceedings and illegal proceedings since my being in this country; that her father hardly speaks to her, and that she is not the least anxious that they should

be upon another footing in future; in short, that she has a complete contempt of her father's character, which she obtained, *not from influence, but from her own sagacity, and experience which* she has made of a similar ill treatment. She abhors *the Queen* and *the Duke of Cumberland.* She has no confidence in any of the princesses, nor in either of the dukes. Miss Elphinstone, as well as Lady Barbara Ashley—two young ladies of whose acquaintance the Prince had approved two years ago, and who were the only she ever corresponded with—their letters were intercepted by the special order of the Regent; and though there was no high treason in them, *the correspondence was forbid, as well as the waiting,* for which reason my daughter has no other intimate friend than her mother. That she writes every day twelve pages, and sometimes more, having nobody to whom she could open her heart so freely and so trusty. I should be very grateful to all the family for having adopted this new plan to write, to prevent that I should ever have any influence over her as my daughter; and I am now so united that no event could make a disunion between us. Even the great difficulty to get a letter to her, and to receive one, gives a zest to our correspondence. So you will see, my dear Lady Charlotte, by the letter from the Chancellor to Lady de Clifford, that there is no objection for the writing to me. I cannot otherwise look upon it than a trap to get possession of our correspondence, but which will be unsuccessful, as the letters are sent to Lady de Clifford's house, under her address, sealed with my own seal; and her confidential servant carries them himself down every two days. Lady de Clifford was to have been sent away if she

had not shown proper spirit in mentioning to the Regent that, if he intended to send her away, Lord Albemarle and her son, Lord de Clifford, would ask an audience of the Regent to be acquainted with the reason for which Lady de Clifford was dismissed; for which reason, for the present, she is not moved. Charlotte is quite aware of it, and is perfectly determined to refuse any governess whatever, as she knows that she is of age, and wishes to continue to keep Lady de Clifford about her, either as governess or as Lady of the Bedchamber. Now, my dear Lady Charlotte, I leave to your own judgment into what small compass you intend to forward all this budget of complaint and plague. I trust I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again; and I am glad to hear that your new brother-in-law is good for something, and that it will succeed.—Yours, C. P.

"My daughter came to Blackheath this Tuesday. Saturday, the 22d, she is to come to Kensington. Friday, the 21st—the Duke of Clarence's birthday—everybody shall be at Frogmore, for which reason she is with me the Saturday, 22d of August."

It soon appeared that the expectations founded on Macmahon's letter were not fulfilled. Lady Charlotte Lindsay wrote as follows:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"Sheffield Place, *September* 8.

"Dear Mr Brougham,—I send you enclosed several papers relative to Princess Charlotte's visits, which I have been commanded to forward to you; and I have just received another letter from Kensington,

telling me that Princess Charlotte came there the day before yesterday, accompanied by Miss Knight, and that before Miss Knight set off from Windsor, the Queen sent to her, and gave her a charge not to let Princess Charlotte go out of her sight for one moment; and her Majesty also sent for Princess Charlotte, and told her that she was not to retire at all; upon which she replied, 'that after so long a journey she must retire to dress, and make herself clean before dinner; and that what she had to say to her mother she could say before anybody, as she made no secret of her feelings upon their strange proceedings.'—Yours truly,

"C. L."

Among other letters on the same subject, all proving the interdiction of communication with the Princess Charlotte, is the following:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*September* 29, 1812.

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I enclose in two covers several papers that I have this morning received from H.R.H., who went to Windsor last Sunday. She stopped at the lodge that had been destined by the King for her occupation whenever she should go to Windsor. She wrote from thence to Lady de Clifford, desiring she would bring Princess Charlotte there. Lady de Clifford's answer is one of the enclosures. Then she wrote to Colonel Disbrowe, and asked an audience of her Majesty: what passed at that interview is another of the enclosures.

"I hope, as I send these letters before the Parliament is dissolved, that you will not have an enormous

sum to pay for them. I shall direct to Brougham, though I suppose that you have been obliged to leave your woods and wilds for the unromantic streets of Liverpool, where I most sincerely hope that you will meet with the most complete success. The Princess desires me to tell you that she has not communicated anything respecting the Windsor matters either to Mr Canning or to Mr Ward, as she suspects that they will join the ministers very soon. She would have wished to have talked to the Whitbreads upon this subject, but they did not go to her at Kensington when they were last in London, which seems to have disappointed her. Adieu, dear Mr Brougham.—With every good wish for your success, I remain yours very sincerely,

"C. LINDSAY."

It may be right here to insert a very remarkable letter of the King (George III.), showing how different were his views on all that related to both mother and daughter. It is addressed to the Prince. The Princess had not a distinct recollection of the date, but it must have been long before the famous session of 1809 and the Duke of York's business, which to a certain degree had lessened the quarrels of the royal family among themselves, making them feel the necessity of hanging together while there was such a public clamour against them.

"GEORGIUS REX.—The professions you have lately made in your letters of your particular regard to me are so contradictory to your actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them. You know very well you did not give the least intimation to me

or to the Queen that the Princess was with child till within a month of the birth of the young Princess.

"You removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence, in expectation (as you voluntarily declared) of her labour; and both times, upon your return, you industriously concealed from the knowledge of me and the Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair; and you at last, without giving notice to me or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton Court in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the Princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise and tenderness for the Princess as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities to me, and to the Queen your mother.

"This extravagant and ungrateful behaviour in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my crown, is such an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious words only; but the whole tenor of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you; and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are aided and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the Queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them

who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weakened the common interest of the whole.

"In this situation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent.

"In the mean time, it is my pleasure that you leave St James's with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess.

"I shall for the present leave to the Princess the care of my granddaughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education. G. R."

The Prince was with much difficulty persuaded by Liverpool and Eldon to read a letter which the Princess of Wales had written, and proposed to send to Queen Charlotte.

He wrote to the Princess Charlotte respecting it, asking who had written it. The Duke of Kent told her that in speaking to him about it "he blessed his stars it had not been written to him, so he was relieved from having to answer it, which he should not have known how to do." This was certainly an additional reason, as both the Princesses thought, for going further; and on the best consideration I could give the subject, it seemed expedient that the Princess should address a letter to the Prince direct. That letter was as follows:—

"Sir,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to intrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to

solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so, if they related merely to myself, I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time; I should continue in silence and retirement to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have been so long a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted, without any fault of my own, and that your Royal Highness knows it.

"But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter; may I venture to say a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance; if her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly, or by secret insinuations, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too much judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled either to abandon all regard to the two dearest objects which I possess on earth—mine own honour and my beloved child—or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wound which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of this. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery as I well know your Royal Highness never could inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished; a single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections: that, however, was reduced to our meeting once a-fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced. But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon

your Royal Highness's notice; I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world this separation of a daughter from her mother will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced, or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to admit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion.

"Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed: without the shadow of a charge against me; without even an accuser; after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication, yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, holding me up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. The serious, and soon it may be the irreparable, injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness than

any sufferings of my own could accomplish. And if for her sake I presume to call away your Royal Highness from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming this for a matter of inferior importance, either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections, the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for one with whom, by his Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles; if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears, to my humble judgment, peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to.

be the sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation.

"It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake as well as for her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions, both by the impossibility of obtaining proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she has to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsel I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing, both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that

solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child.

"The pain at which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness, is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it; they are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show, by a new example, the liberal affection of a true and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.—I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter, your Royal Highness's most devoted and most affectionate consort, cousin, and subject,

"CAROLINE LOUISA.

"MONTAGUE HOUSE, *Jan.* 14, 1813." *

As the proposed step of writing to Queen Charlotte was of great importance, I proposed going to Southhill and considering the whole matter, especially the draft of the letter, with Whitbread, to whom she had spoken in general terms of her new grievance. It was agreed that she should not be troubled with a letter till my return from Southhill.† Whitbread's entire concurrence was the more essential as I was not then in Parliament. At Southhill we fully discussed the whole

* See Miss Knight's Autobiography, i. 323.

† The copy of this letter to Queen Charlotte has, unfortunately, not been found among Lord Brougham's papers.

subject, and he entirely agreed that this was the proper course to take and the proper moment. We fully considered the letter, and we agreed that it would not be fit that Grey should be involved in the responsibility of the step proposed to be taken, both on account of the frequent personal differences as well as political which had occurred between him and the Prince, and on account of his station as leader of the Whig party, the more especially as some of the leaders in both Houses were known to lean strongly against the Princess; Sheridan of course, but also Tierney, perhaps Ponsonby, certainly Holland House. It was, however, deemed proper that our proceedings should be fully disclosed to him; and if he chose to interpose his advice, he might have the opportunity, from what had passed with him a short time before, of giving us the full assurance of his general approval. It will presently be seen that this was done. I returned from Southhill to London; but both Whitbread and I felt the absolute necessity of warning the Princess of Wales how momentous the step was, and impressing upon her the absolute necessity not only of fully considering it in all its views, but of being quite certain that she had done nothing of any sort that could shun the light.

In all his advice to and support of the Princess, Whitbread acted, as he ever did, an honest, manly, and straightforward part. Considering her to be as ill-used as possible, and without any just ground, he had deemed it his duty to stand by her, and he did so firmly and heartily. Not that he was on bad terms with the regular Whig party, for they had entirely retraced their steps towards him, which had led to much estrangement in 1806, when he was left out of

the arrangement on it being stated by Lord Grey that he could answer for his having no desire of office—on which Whitbread said that he might have been left to give the refusal himself. But in 1811, when, as was believed, they were quite certain to come in upon the establishment of the Regency, and when doubtless they would have come in but for the part that Sheridan played when he ascertained that he was not to be in the Cabinet, it was all settled that Whitbread was to have been Secretary of State for the Home Department, and he had selected his staff. Indeed, in 1809, when Grey and Grenville were applied to, and refused to come in on a half arrangement along with Perceval and a few others, the most unreserved communication was had with Whitbread, and they entirely satisfied him as to the grounds of their refusal. The error of 1806 had been studiously avoided, and nothing could be more cordial than his acting with the party for the next two or three years. The objections to him on the part of some of the Grenvilles were, at least for the present, got over; and he took the Princess's part by no means as separating himself from the party, though he was quite aware with myself of the umbrage which we should give, not only to the Prince's people, but also to some timid spirits, who were always averse to breaking squares with Carlton House. For their scruples he cared as little as for the obloquy to which we should be exposed in that high quarter.

On my return to London I took the letter to the Princess, and she desired to consider it, and confer with the Princess Charlotte upon the step about to be taken. But I begged leave to set before her at once

all its consequences, and to see her alone before she saw her daughter. After she had read the letter she appointed me to see her next day at Kensington Palace. I then told her that she must make up her mind for what would inevitably happen if the letter was sent to the Prince. It would reopen all the former grounds of complaint. She said that after the failure in 1806, when the Prince's friends were in office, she could have no apprehension of their being now repeated. I said that very probably the same attempts would not be made, but that others might; and I besought her to take into her serious consideration what I was about to say, and not to answer me, or come to any decision, for two days. I told her that she must review her whole past life, and if there was anything in it which would not bear the light—not only anything criminal, but any act of imprudence or indiscretion, examples of which I took the liberty of suggesting—instances of things which, though not in themselves culpable, might be made the grounds of suspecting something wrong, or might be only much blamed—then the letter must not be sent to the Prince; that whatever she most apprehended, whatever she felt the most unpleasant, to be brought forward, or even whatever she felt most doubtful about, she must lay her account with it being brought against her; that she must on no account rely upon there not being evidence against her, or that whatever had been done or said was without any witness being present, for that even if it had passed at the centre of the earth, she must calculate upon its being proved; and that, further, she would be charged with having been the cause of the proof, or of the accusation, by having voluntarily called for the inquiry;

that now she was the aggressor—before, she had been the party attacked; that now she attacked the Prince—at least this would be said even by her supporters, while her enemies and the Carlton House set could desire no better than the excuse she gave them—nay, the necessity she forced upon them—of proceeding against her. She at once said she approved of my desiring her not to answer my question now; and that I should hear from her, as there could be no occasion further to argue the subject now fully laid before her. It was for her to determine one way or the other: as I had put the matter, her determination alone must decide. I entirely agreed, and I wrote to Whitbread that it was impossible to say what would be her decision; that the way in which she had received my warning left some uneasiness as to the result; but that upon the whole I believed she would go forward. Whitbread was of a contrary opinion. From Canning's particular position it was clear he could not be consulted, and it was only fair to him that he should know nothing whatever of what was in contemplation.

I received two days after a letter from Lady Charlotte Lindsay, by the Princess's command, simply saying that the letter must go to the Prince.

Lord King, in the proceedings on the bill against her in 1820, I recollect, said to me, how wrong the people were who charged me with being a rash counsellor, or even a too bold and confident one, for he rather thought I might be accused of being over-cautious, and beyond necessity circumspect. But I was at that time acting professionally, and all I did was according to the duty which we as counsel were conversant with, and not he. In 1813, however, both Whitbread

and I acted as her advisers merely, and in no respect professionally; but I conceive that King's observation was quite as applicable then as in 1820. Romilly, too, states in his diary that the proceedings of 1813 and 1814, under my guidance, had been attended with perfect success (which his experience of the delicate investigation in 1806 gave him a full right to judge of, as well as of my difficulties), and he ascribed that success to the extreme caution and circumspection used throughout. When a person is acting for or advising another, he has no right whatever to show vicarious courage, to recommend the running any risk not necessary to avoid greater risks, or to counsel any boldness which is not more safe (as occasionally happens) than more prudent courses.

But though every precaution was taken to avoid risk or prevent precipitate courses, and the most anxious inquiry, as far as it was possible, made into any risk to be incurred by the Princess in adopting the measure which I had proposed and Whitbread adopted, it must be added that all anxiety and alarm, as far as we felt any, was on her account, and not in the least on account of ourselves. I had from the first regarded the step in contemplation as one of extreme hazard to its advisers; and not being in Parliament to defend myself from the attacks which were quite inevitable, I should have paused before finally deciding. Had not Whitbread become a party, I should have looked to Folkestone* in all likelihood, or to Brand,† for support; at least so far as to state my case, or give any required explanation. The danger which I encountered personally or professionally, of course, I en-

* Afterwards Lord Radnor. † Afterwards Lord Dacre.

tirely disregarded. But I knew the virulent nature of the Prince's party both in and out of Parliament, and I was running into the most entire and irreconcilable hostility to everything that belonged to Carlton House, with hardly any prospect of support from the regular Whig party, many of the leaders of which were little disposed to have the breach with the Prince widened, even after the year of the reconstructed Regency had expired. But I really felt, as did Whitbread, that the conduct of the Prince had been such from the beginning towards his wife, and his later treatment of both mother and daughter so outrageous, as made it a duty to take their part; whilst his conduct towards the Whig party made this proceeding on our part quite justifiable, and not at all inconsistent with our *party connection*. On my return from Southhill I had to attend the special commission at York for the trial of the Luddite outrages, being retained for most of the prisoners. I wrote to Grey previous to my departure as follows:—

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 25, 1812.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have reserved the affairs of the Princess and Princess Charlotte for this letter—to keep the subject unmixed—as it is to treat of very delicate matters.

"The Princess addressed a long and very firm remonstrance to the Queen last Saturday (which I had revised and altered materially) relative to the Princess Charlotte and their being kept separate, and the plan pursued for *interrupting* her education, and keeping her in close confinement.

"The Queen's answer is full of lies and evasions, and the Princess's letter is now with the Prince.

"On Perceval's death, a box of the Princess's papers, kept by him to prevent the Prince from seizing them, got into some foreign lady's hands, who is a partisan of the Princess; at least so I gather from what has happened: for this person last week called at my chambers in the dusk, and left them sealed up with an anonymous letter, strongly persuading their immediate publication. I have read them, and returned them with an answer, expressing my indignation at such an attempt being made to involve me in any mysterious transaction—especially in one where some breach of trust appears to form a link of the communication. But I advised that they should be immediately sent to the Princess, and proper steps taken in the matter with her authority.

"I half suspect *she* is at the bottom of the whole, but this I can't be sure of. At all events, my answer would have been the same, of course.

"Now for the papers. They are a series of letters from her to the Prince, and many long ones from him to her, relating to Lady Jersey and the other old disputes; then curious ones from the King to her, some of them bearing hard on the Prince, also from Thurlow, &c.; with two Cabinet minutes of April 21, 1807, by all the ministers *except Perceval*, fully acquitting her, and desiring her to be received publicly at Court.

"The advice I am disposed to give is this: that an able narrative be drawn up, with a proper selection from the papers, and suppression of private names, if this is deemed advisable. The Princess will do whatever is thought best.

"I must tell you that the Princess Charlotte is extremely solicitous that her mother should be openly vindicated, and the Princess's wish for this proceeds almost as much from the desire of gratifying her as of punishing her husband. The young one is quite furious at *their* treatment of her. I mean Queen, Princesses, Dukes, and her father as much as any. She says she complained of her letters being opened at the post-office *by his orders*, which he denied circumstantially; and that she pressed him until she was obliged to stop, to avoid the unpleasant necessity of convicting him of a plain lie. This is her own story. As for the confinement at Windsor, she entertained a plan of escaping as soon as she was of age (for she conceives she is so next birthday—very falsely in point of law). She also desired my advice on this and other matters, and I am to write a representation as strongly as possible against it.

"That she is disposed towards popular principles I know from undoubted authority. The interest she took in Romilly's election and mine she was at no pains to conceal from anybody; and after it was over she went to Fremantle to know if we were to be out of Parliament; to which I may add a trifle which I learnt by chance in a shop—viz., that t'other day she sent for a modeller, and had a cast of me done; with a number of observations showing she feels a peculiarly strong interest in our side of the question.

"You have seen so much ill in one heir-apparent that I think I see you scouting all idea *of a popular Queen*.—Believe me ever yours, H. B."

On my arrival at York I wrote again to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *January* 3, 1813.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I send you in this and another cover a most curious account of our beloved Prince's behaviour to his daughter. He is jealous of her to a degree of insanity, and has been for some time. I believe the Duke of Cumberland and Yarmouth have actually been feeding him with hopes of getting rid of her by divorcing his wife, and this he is fool enough to believe. It seems too absurd, but you may rely on it some such thing has been broached. The young Princess is quite aware how much she is in the same boat with her mother, and feels such topics accordingly. The letter to the Queen was rather a tickler, but quite unexceptionable in point of discretion, relating solely to the seeing her daughter. I wrote a considerable part of it, and revised the whole, and made it safe and sure. It is to this he alludes when he asks who wrote it; also to the Duke of Kent, he blessed his stars that it was not written to him, as he was thus relieved from having to answer it, not knowing what to say.

"You may recollect my being of opinion last August that a formal remonstrance professedly as such, though written nominally by the Princess, should be delivered to him if he continued his proceedings towards the mother and daughter, and you were of this opinion also.

"Various things lately have made this still more advisable. I accordingly drew it up with much care, and she is to copy it and send it immediately after the 7th, her daughter's birthday, or about the 8th, according to circumstances.

"If you have the least desire to see it, I have a copy, and shall enclose it; but it is rather long, for it recapitulates all her grievances in relation to her daughter, and also those of her daughter.

"Such was the avidity, after the abuse of him in Hunt's trial t'other day, that besides about 10,000 of the 'Examiner' containing it (which were not to be had at any price an hour after it was published), a cheap edition of the trial was instantly printed, unknown to Hunt, and placarded on the walls before he could even announce that a correct one was coming out.

"The repeal of the Orders in Council is working its way in America, and you may rely on peace coming about there, either in spite of Maddison and his party or by their being turned out.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Lord Grey in his answer took no notice of this offer, and of course the MS. notes were not sent. All therefore remained in the hands of Whitbread and myself.

The letter having gone to the Prince, while we were waiting for the answer or other result I wrote to Lord Grey as follows, respecting the two Princesses and my relations with them:—

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *Wednesday, February* 3, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I only learnt yesterday of your stay in the north being protracted so long; otherwise I should have written before, though but to say I had no news worth communicating, except respecting the Princess and her daughter—and on that topic I have so much to say that I must wait till we meet.

"I shall only mention that, after long delay and many refusals, and sending back the letter and the remonstrance unopened, the Prince has been forced to receive and read it. Lords Liverpool and Eldon gave way, not daring to take upon them the refusal. He *pockets* it all, however, and we are waiting to see what he will do. Of course all my efforts are (in that matter) directed to keep the mother and daughter quiet; and hitherto, but with difficulty, I have succeeded. I fear, if I continue (as I really must, from my own opinion) to preach nothing but delay and discretion, I shall lose all credit with them, and must give way to more agreeable and rash advisers. At present they are quite tractable.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *February* 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I rejoice to hear you are to be in town, as it was doubted some time ago. It never is good for you any more than for the country to stay beyond the proper season in the country. As to the young Princess, I have written (being asked my opinion) a full and strong exhortation to perfect quiet and submission, and explained how completely the law and right are on her father's side.—Yours ever,

"H. B."

To these letters I received the following answer:—

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *February* 7, 1813.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I concluded, from the article in the 'Morning Chronicle' in answer to the

'Courier'—some of which I thought very good—that the war was pretty hot between Carlton House and Kensington. There can be no doubt, not only of the prudence, but of the necessity of the utmost forbearance and moderation on the part of both the Princesses, and I rejoice that you have constantly pressed this consideration upon them. If the impatience and irritation, which I confess is not unnatural under their circumstances, should hereafter induce them to listen to less cautious and perhaps less honest advisers, I am sure you will have no cause to regret the loss of your influence. It is better that you should lose it than be supposed to be the adviser of measures which considerate and impartial men may be obliged to condemn. But I am sure you will not lose it—at least not permanently; the inevitable failure of any intemperate conduct would quickly bring them back to your counsels. At all events, it is necessary, especially in a matter of so much importance and delicacy, that you should act entirely according to your own opinions.

"I have delayed longer than I intended, and am still delaying my journey, in hopes of being able to finish some things that I am very anxious to see done before I leave this place. My servants, however, are gone, and I have everything prepared for setting out this week; but perhaps I shall linger on till some time in the next, so that I shall be able to hear from you again before I go if you have anything material to write. In truth, I feel that it is of little consequence whether I am absent or present, under the conviction that I can do no good, particularly in our house of ineffectives. All the advantages of unex-

pected success in Russia, I foresee, will be lost; and I wish we may not pay dearly this year for the unhoped-for fortunes of the last.—Ever yours, GREY."

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"TEMPLE, *June* 29, 1813.

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I shall obey her Royal Highness's commands on Saturday. Pray learn, if you can, whether Lord Archy goes, or Ward; as my carriage is being painted, and I have a horror of four miles in a hackney-coach.

"Talking of horrors reminds me of the lioness, *von Staël*. I think I shall be obliged to say that, being a person who fears God and honours the king, I am afraid to come near her. To say the truth, if anything could keep me more out of society than I am at this season, it would be her prowling about. I was asked t'other day to go where she was, and had thoughts of returning the same answer with the man in Æsop's Fables, that 'he could not come, there being a lion in the way.'—Ever yours truly,

"H. B.

"Lady Perceval's application failed to-day, as I told you it would."

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *August* 2, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As for the Duke of Bedford, it would take a monstrous deal of proof to make me believe anything against him; and what you say I daresay is correct, that in the end his popularity won't be much affected by the business.

"As I always foresaw; the little flirting between the Prince and the Princess Charlotte is all over. She is as loud and as impatient as ever, and her mother (who has seen her), though a little time ago rather uneasy, is again perfectly satisfied. In fact, she is confined and crossed nearly as much as ever. The Prince and the Queen are also tired of the Duchess of Leeds, who has had the proper spirit to refuse forbidding Lady Jersey seeing the Princess Charlotte, *as from herself*, which was what the Prince was shabby enough, and sufficiently himself, to beg her to do.

"I was at Taylor's on my way here. They were hurried off on Saturday by Sir Henry Vane's illness, and it is understood that he died yesterday of apoplexy.—My respects to Lady Grey, and believe me ever yours, H. BROUGHAM."

The following is an extract from a letter I wrote to Lord Grey on the 27th Nov. 1813:—

. . . . . .

"Another rumour is afloat that something is to be attempted against the Princess of Wales. Certain it is that they have begun through the press, and by the most gross publications. Perhaps the Prince thinks, in the present state of men's minds, nobody will reflect on the infamy of filing *ex officio* informations when himself or his brother is attacked, and leaving whatever is published against his wife unnoticed. The rumour that something is intended against her comes from some of the understrappers of our party; but they were so mysterious and consequential about it, that my informant could not take the trouble of continuing the conversation. If she is to be so

attacked, she will be forced to bring forward her case at last, which, as against the Prince, she has hitherto (with great difficulty) been persuaded to keep to herself."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 21, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The young Princess dined last Wednesday with her mother. She is on perfectly good terms *at present* with her father. The quarrels of late had been very frequent, and a few weeks ago were even worse than they had been while she was at Windsor. But this is the hot fit, and he is coaxing her; it always succeeds to a certain degree, and his refusing an establishment and some other indulgence generally brings the cold fit. The Princess Charlotte has completely altered her language as to the Prince of Orange, and I am quite clear she will take him if they offer him to her. The Dutch business has done this; and now that it is all over, I may inform you of a great alarm I had from finding, by the clearest proofs, that she really had a great *penchant* for the Duke of *Devonshire*.* This you may rely on; and it is equally certain that *now* she would be furious at the insinuation, as is exceedingly natural in such cases, the idea having quite passed away. I always thought that the best (I mean the most useful) part of her character was the spice of the mother's spirit and temper; but I fear she has a considerable mixture of the father's weakness and fickleness. Indeed, what can you expect? Her behaviour to Lady de Clifford has been such as I almost

* William, sixth Duke, born in 1790. For the Court gossip in this matter, see Miss Knight's 'Autobiography,' vol. i. p. 242.

defy her father to surpass, accomplished as he is in such walks. You will be less surprised to hear of her being quite violent against peace and Bonaparte, and for war till the Bourbons are restored. Luckily all this will not depend on her or her father either. She is to dine again on the 7th with her mother.

"The debates of late, at least in the Commons, seem queer kind of things. I have *no confidence whatever* in ministers and their professions of peace, and regret that Whitbread should say so much on this score; for though I hope it is only *reculer pour mieux sauter*, and taking a stronger ground for after operations against them, such admissions are always dangerous, and scarcely ever do good. Mackintosh's speech seems (like all he says and writes) to have been dreadfully deficient in closeness, with no *object*, no argument,—a sort of preaching or lecturing of a very unbusiness-like and inefficient nature. I should suppose Romilly's to have been far better.* But it is very painful to me to see nobody there on *your* behalf, and I really wish Tierney had in the course of the session said something, as people look to him for your sentiments. A great number of things would have been most necessary, in order to correct misrepresentations very prevalent, especially as to Spain and the successes of the war. I have more than once been tempted by hearing of these to try something, but I am too much jaded to write a pamphlet, even if I could get over the injury such a step would do me; and as for public meetings, besides the same reason, I might do more

* Debate, on 20th December 1813, on the adjournment of Parliament during the critical negotiations of the Allied Powers with Napoleon on the Rhine.

harm than good; so that I feel resigned to wait till you can come to the meeting of Parliament in March yourself. Lord Holland seems to have spoken excellently well.

"I hope to hear of your lassitude having gone off, and that they allow you a little wine.—Believe me most sincerely yours, H. BROUGHAM."

Every art was used to prevent the foreign sovereigns from even recognising the existence of the Princess of Wales; though with some, as the King of Prussia, she was nearly connected by marriage, and with others by blood. There were frequent proofs that they bore no particular respect towards the Regent, and on one occasion the Emperor could not avoid remarking to those about him that the Prince was tipsy. This habit had grown upon him of late, and was often referred to by the Princess Charlotte—her phrase in her letters being that "too much oil was put into the lamp." It happened that about this time great dissensions prevailed between her and her father, continued from the last year's affair, but increased by his making appointments in her household without consulting her, either as to those whom she found objectionable, or those she greatly preferred. This was one of the subjects on which she had been consulting me. That she had no desire to widen the breach with him was manifest. She was also very anxious that nothing should be done by her mother which might have that effect. Thus she had heard of a letter which the Princess intended to write, and she was afraid it might have this tendency. The letter was a very respectful and even kind one, entreating as a favour to be allowed

to see her daughter more frequently. The Princess Charlotte wrote expressing her apprehension to Lady Charlotte Lindsay and myself, on which I addressed the following letter to the Princess of Wales, with the intention that it should be communicated to her daughter:—

"Mr Brougham begs leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness that it does not appear to him in the least degree probable that any new difficulties will be thrown in the way of your Royal Highness's intercourse with her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte in consequence of the letter which it is intended to address to the Prince Regent; on the contrary, that step appears to him most likely to prevent any such new attempts against the comfort and interests of your Royal Highness and the Princess Charlotte.

"Mr Brougham takes the liberty further of stating it as his opinion, which he does with great anxiety and earnestness, that every proceeding ought to be avoided which would give to the enemies of your Royal Highness and the Princess Charlotte a pretext for blame; and that, however painful it may be for a little time, it is of the most essential consequence, both to the Princess Charlotte and to the country, that her Royal Highness should carefully avoid everything which might be construed by the Prince Regent's advisers into disregard of his authority. Your Royal Highness is aware that by law the care of the Princess Charlotte, and the management of her Royal Highness's education, is intrusted to the Prince Regent, and that there is no particular age at which the Princess Charlotte becomes freed from this authority, except that age of

twenty-one, when, in common with every person, her Royal Highness becomes her own entire mistress. But although, strictly speaking, the Prince Regent has this control over the Princess Charlotte until she attains that age, yet it is a point which he will be obliged to exercise with a due regard to the wisdom of Parliament and the sense of the country. Provided the Princess Charlotte only continues acting the same amiable and wise part which has hitherto so eminently distinguished her Royal Highness, there can be no doubt that in a very short time Parliament and the country will render it impossible any longer to persevere in the present most hurtful plan of secluding her Royal Highness from the intercourse and state required by her exalted station. Nothing could possibly prevent Parliament and the country from taking part with her Royal Highness, except some ill-advised proceeding which might have the appearance of disregarding the Prince Regent's authority; and Mr Brougham is confident her Royal Highness has too excellent an understanding and too much fortitude to adopt any such plan, and too tender a regard for your Royal Highness, whose situation would inevitably be injured by it. Her Royal Highness will naturally regard the privations and hardships she now suffers as trials to which she is exposed, as her illustrious predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, formerly was, and will have the greatness of mind to disregard them, however painful at present, in the prospect of excelling even that renowned Princess, by reigning where *she* never did—in the hearts of a free people. Her Royal Highness may rest assured that her friends are active and zealous in everything relating to her interests. They

consider her Royal Highness's interests to be, in fact, the same with those of your Royal Highness; because it is quite impossible not to see that the attempts against your Royal Highness must greatly injure—nay, very probably prove ruinous to—your Royal Highness's daughter." *

But the matter of greatest interest was her father's desire to have her married; and she conceived that it was coupled with a plan of her living abroad, for the Prince of Orange was soon proposed to her. He was one of the foreign princes who was now in London, but he had served in the Spanish campaigns, and was for some time on the Duke's staff. She gave him no encouragement beyond civil, and perhaps complimentary, expressions, and could not, without offence, refuse some trifling presents which he offered—without, indeed, what would have been tantamount to a refusal of his hand. Her father was bent upon the match, and this formed the subject of much correspondence with me through her mother, when I plainly told her that she was at perfect liberty to accept or refuse him, without more regard to her father's wishes than merely giving the matter a favourable consideration in deference to his opinion. She was anxious to know everything as to her leaving the country in case she consented to the marriage, and the steps which Parliament might take to regulate that, and any other particular, if the marriage took place. I gave her all the information she required, and detailed the instances, at different times, from Philip and Mary downwards. George Lamb had published a

* This referred to the possibility of divorce, and the not improbable remarriage of the Prince.

very excellent pamphlet on the position and rights of the Queen-Consort; and I had drawn up an elaborate article upon it for the 'Edinburgh Review,' entering a good deal into the subject of the daughter as well as the mother; and I communicated the substance of the paper to the former.* She had the utmost aversion to the proposed match; and indeed the Prince of Orange had, on more than one occasion, made himself exceedingly disagreeable to her, as by want of ordinary attention in going about to Court balls and other assemblies where she could not appear, not having been formally presented at Court, or was prevented from going by some other cause. The pressure upon her was unceasing; and on her continued refusal, she was told that she had committed herself; and one of the Regent's law officers, William Adam (Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall), gave it as his opinion that, after receiving presents, and making what they represented as a promise, she could be *compelled* to marry the Prince of Orange.† She then showed great presence of mind, and, I may say, great address. She said that of course she was entirely ignorant of the law; but as it had been so laid down by her father's lawyers, she would believe it, provided that, to prevent all doubt or mistake, it was given her in writing, in order that she might show the opinion to me, with whom she had been advising upon the subject. Of course this was declined, and she heard no more of the Court of Chancery either ordering her to marry, or decreeing a specific

* Review of a pamphlet entituled 'Some Inquiry into the Constitutional Character of the Queen-Consort of England.'—'Edinburgh Review' for September 1814, p. 44.

† See Miss Knight's 'Autobiography,' vol. i. p. 264 *et seq.*

performance of a contract. But the attempts to overcome her reluctance continued, and new threats were used, and new vexations practised, especially with respect to her household, as a punishment for her refusal. Her mother was as much averse to the match as she was herself; but certainly she did not lead her in the dislike of it; she only joined, and did nothing to overcome her repugnance. I believe, indeed, that there was some family difference arising out of the share her father (the Duke of Brunswick) formerly had in the expedition which supported the Stadtholder's family against the States in 1788.

During the three or four weeks that this dispute lasted, she only wavered in her resolution from the anxiety to be freed from the thraldom in which she was kept; but any time that she listened with favour to the proposal, the apprehension of a foreign residence put an end to all chance of her yielding; because on one thing she was resolved, and peremptorily,—the establishment in this country as her general residence, and any visit to Holland being only occasional and temporary. Upon the whole subject of her rights, and the Prince's power by law, I had fully informed her, and on one occasion had written a very strong letter to dissuade her from a project she had for a moment conceived, of requiring formally to be considered as of age, which she imagined to be at eighteen. On all that regarded the match I had constant correspondence with her through Lady Charlotte Lindsay chiefly, but sometimes through others of her mother's household.

The following letter relates to this proposed match:

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"WHITEHALL, *Tuesday.*

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I am just returned from a visit to Princess Charlotte, to whom I have communicated your letter, which she read with attention. She told me that she had constantly persisted (in her correspondence with the Prince of Orange) in her declaration of never leaving England unless under a positive engagement of returning to it in three months, and having her house and establishment here. He has objected, and said that he would not be tied down to weeks and days; and in his last letter insinuated something of her being forced to comply, which has exceedingly offended her, and she is now more firmly resolved than even she appeared to be before, to break off the marriage, if her leaving England is insisted upon. Her present intention is to write to her father (who has never spoken to her about her marriage since the first arrangement of it), and to tell him, in as respectful and good-humoured words as she can, her resolution of not leaving England. She is certainly in good earnest; but what can she do if she is not supported? She tells me that she believes the Prince of Orange is a very good young man, but much under the control of his family, and that his letters have been very different since they have all been about him. I am convinced that the Princess Charlotte is much under the influence of Miss Mercer, who, I think, keeps her very right and steady in her politics, and in many things, but I fear that she does not encourage her to give the support to her mother that she might do in a

firm but quiet way, and that I think her duty—and indeed her interest — requires that she should do. Princess Charlotte told me that the Duchess of Oldenburgh had apologised to her for not having been to visit the Princess of Wales, which she said she had fully intended to do, but that Count Lieven had entreated her not to do so, as he said the Prince Regent had positively commanded the foreign ministers not to go there. I think that she need not have minded him. What a strange thing it is that a man whom nobody respects should so completely govern everybody! This Duchess does not, however, like him at all, as Princess Charlotte tells me. I have not been able to get any insight into the 'mysterious paragraph;' I think it may announce a work of Lady Douglas's. I had rather of the two that it came from our enemies than from our friends, for they are all more known to be so foolish, and so knavish, that it is more likely for the latter to do us harm than for the former.

"I flatter myself that the Princess is so well aware that Lady Perceval can never do her any good, that she will really have no more to do with her. My pen is so horrible that I can write no more.

"Adieu. I hope to see you as soon as you return to London.—Yours ever truly, C. L.

"Think of having written three pages without a congratulation upon peace! what a joyful event it is!"

The following correspondence still relates to this subject:—

MISS MERCER ELPHINSTONE* TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"HARLEY STREET.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I am just returned from Cranbourne Lodge, and I cannot resist the impulse that induces me to trouble you with these few lines to tell you of the wretched state of health and spirits in which I left poor Princess Charlotte. Indeed, I could not let you leave the country without having informed you of the real state of the case. I have long been of opinion that much of the Princess Charlotte's illness depended upon the state of her mind; and I am now more convinced of it than ever, from the dreadful effect her mother's letter announcing her departure from England had upon her. I really never can forget the distress and agitation she was in at the first moment; and even when I left her, two days after, her pulse continued at 98. Mr Kente came to her yesterday morning, and Doctor Bailey and Mr Cline were written to immediately by the ladies-in-waiting. Her Royal Highness complained of severe pains in her knee, and it was certainly more swelled. I assure you I feel seriously uneasy about it, and am convinced that nothing but good air and tranquillity of mind can afford her the smallest chance of regaining her health. Of the last of these remedies I fear she can have but little hope, and this last blow of the Princess's departure I think she has felt more severely than all the

* Margaret Mercer Elphinstone became Baroness Keith on the death of her father, Lord Keith, in 1823, and succeeded to the Scotch Barony of Nairne on the death of William Lord Nairne in 1838. She married in 1817 Auguste-Charles-Joseph, Comte de Flahaut, by whom she had several daughters. Died, November 1865.

rest. I never saw her so deeply affected and apparently mortified in my life; and the idea that it is not her Royal Highness's intention to return to this country, seems to prey continually upon her mind. If you can give me a *word* of *comfort* upon the subject, pray do, dear Lady Charlotte, and let me entreat you to use every exertion of your influence for Princess Charlotte's sake, to induce the Princess not to make a long absence, which would be so ruinous, both to the interest of mother and daughter, in this country.

"I am quite ashamed of myself for having tormented you with this epistle, but really I am so unhappy about Princess Charlotte's situation altogether that I could not help it. God bless you, dear Lady Charlotte. —With my best wishes, believe me very lovingly yours,

"M. MERCER ELPHINSTONE.

"If you mention this letter to the Princess, pray take care that my name is not committed further, for at this moment it is impossible to be too careful. Excuse this hasty scrawl."

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"TEMPLE, *Friday.*

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—As I am obliged to set out for Hothfield early to-morrow morning, I shall not see you for some days; and I wish to let you know what observations I have made since I came to town, upon the result of the different communications which I have had with Parliamentary folks respecting the *Dutch Expedition.*

"I find that the general impression will be in favour of some Parliamentary discussion. Lord Grey, in

particular, is most zealous (as I expected), and only fears that some bad effect may arise to her Royal Highness from the matter being broached in Parliament. He is examining the subject on its own merits, and I have been furnishing him with all my notes relating to it, the law, precedents, &c. &c.

"As far as former instances go, they are rather against us, for no restrictions were ever imposed in those cases, but they were very unlike the present; and the principle of the thing is clearly with us. I mean to have a long talk with Erskine as soon as I come back, and Lord Thanet (to whom I am going) is sure to be both right and warm. He has deservedly great weight, from his admirable sense and high honour.

"The only two quarters in which there is any coldness or disinclination are the Grenvilles and Holland House. This is partly owing to their *twist* respecting the Princess of Wales, in which they are quite incurable, and which somehow extends itself to all such questions, and partly, I fear, to apprehensions of offending the Prince. Perhaps, from what Tierney and Lord Grenville both say, it may be supposed that they think the *Prince of Orange* would take offence; and they probably look forward to his having more weight than I hope and trust *he or any other* PRINCE ever will have. One of my reasons for this conjecture is, that I find it is the fashion in those quarters (Grenville's and Holland House) to speak of Lord Wellington as the future Government of this country *through* the Prince of Orange. But as to the present subject, if the rest of our friends keep steady, those two juntas will follow the current. I forgot to mention that *Plunkett* takes the thing up strongly.

"I am still decidedly of opinion that the matter is kept in the best and safest train, by political characters taking it as a political question, and her Royal Highness making her own stand privately without any communication with them. This avoids all chance of committing her, and makes even the most complete failure of the attempt in Parliament of no manner of injury to her.

"Since I came to town, I have heard twice from my friend the Dutch Premier. They are in perfect quiet and without the least alarm *now*, and I think we may really expect a safe end of all our troubles.—Believe me ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"HOTHFIELD.

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—The enclosed contains the exact state of the case, and is what I had to tell you if we had met. I put it separately, that if you find it more convenient to let Princess Charlotte read it than to tell it, you may do so.

"When I return I shall see you speedily.

"I am still a little uneasy about the advertisement, and if I thought it came from Carlton House, I should almost be for your making Princess Charlotte write to implore her mother to be quiet. Of all moments for taking the field, this does seem the most frantic.*

"The sooner you see the Princess Charlotte the better. I fear her *bestirring* herself, which would do

* This, and the "mysterious paragraph" (p. 187), may probably refer to newspaper passages occasioned by the letter of the Princess (p. 160) having come into the hands of the editor of the 'Morning Chronicle.' See Miss Knight's 'Autobiography,' vol. i. p. 216 *et seq.*

mischief in every way. Nothing she can do will diminish the foolish and vile fear of the Prince which some folks have, and the others will take up the thing only on its own grounds. Grey's scruples are all for fear of injuring *her*. If you have anything to write, address under cover to Lord Thanet, Hothfield, Kent. —Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

Lady Charlotte Lindsay wrote to me as follows :-

"16*th March* 1814.

"I have found means, without any danger, of letting Princess Charlotte know that I would be with her this morning, and accordingly she received me by herself in Miss Knight's room. She read both your letters very attentively, was very much satisfied with them, and said that it was a great ease to her mind to feel herself in the hands of a person whose integrity, abilities, and discretion she could entirely depend upon; that she should be careful to follow your advice in every respect; and that she was very much obliged to me for having executed her commission so well. She seems very much in earnest in her desire of not leaving England without some Parliamentary security for her return whenever she wishes to do so, and says that she conceives at present, at least, it would be very unsafe for her to go to Holland, as she understands from the young Prince's letters that the levies of troops are going on slowly, and that he finds it very difficult to get them into any state of defence, owing to their indolence, notwithstanding their loyalty to him and his family. Princess Charlotte then spoke a good deal about her mother, and said (what I always

apprehended would be the case) that she was told that her mother found very great fault with her to everybody, and said that 'she could not think she was her daughter, as she showed such want of character,' and that 'she had no spirit or steadiness.' I denied ever having heard the Princess of Wales hold such language (which, by the by, was a white lie), but I said it was natural for a mother to feel much solicitude about her daughter's attention, and to be very much hurt at not hearing from her as usual, and at seeing her so seldom; but she said that the King was just now so full of Lady Perceval's business, that she was afraid of asking leave to go to her mother. But she promised me that she would do so very soon, and that she would desire the young Prince of Orange to do so as soon as ever he returns to England. She gave me some instances of the manner in which her mother is watched, and how everything is known by the royal family, who are quite uncomfortable."

The following letters are from Miss Knight to Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

MISS KNIGHT TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Friday afternoon.*

"My dear Lady Charlotte,—Pray forgive my not having sooner put an end to your anxiety by writing; but it really has not been in my power till now.

"The conference broke off yesterday in the manner you know; and in the evening Princess Charlotte sent a letter to the Prince of Orange, repeating that, as his duties called him to Holland, and hers retained her in

England, she considered the matter as at an end after what had passed in the morning. Her Royal Highness has written to the Princess, and has sent her a copy of her letter to the Prince of Orange. She desires to be kindly remembered to you, and requests, if you have an opportunity with any of the Princess's advisers, to say that she has no objection to her letter being shown to any friends, or mentioned, but would not *by any means* have it appear in print.

"She has desired the Prince of Orange to inform the Prince Regent of her letter, but has had no answer. She sent back his picture at the same time.—Believe me, my dear Lady Charlotte, your much obliged E. C. KNIGHT."

MISS KNIGHT TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Friday.*

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I am just returned from the exhibition at Spring Gardens, where I met Miss Hayman. She brought me a commission from Princess Charlotte, for which reason I must see *immediately* Mr Whitbread; and pray let him know that she and Lady Elizabeth come on Sunday morning at 3 o'clock to Kensington Palace. There is a violent storm at Warwick House about what concerns Princess Charlotte's going abroad. Her father intends to frighten her with all sorts of dreadful consequences if she will not obey.—I am in great haste—don't answer —and believe me for ever yours,

"E. C. KNIGHT."

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"SEMPLING, *August* 8, 1814.

"MY DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I am commanded to send you a copy of a letter that the Princess has just written to Mr Whitbread; I have copied it literally, as you will see. Our baggage is putting on board the Jason, and this night, or early to-morrow, we are to embark. I am much grieved, but not surprised, to find that the idea of the Princess's departure from England has had a terrible effect upon Princess Charlotte: her agitation was so great upon receiving the letter announcing her mother's intention, that Baillie and the surgeons were obliged to be immediately sent for. I heard this from Miss Mercer, to whom I had written to give all the comfort I can respecting the probability that the Princess will return to this country again; and the Princess has written herself to Princess Charlotte, to assure her of this.—Adieu.

"CHARLOTTE LINDSAY."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte.

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE AND COURT POLITICS CONTINUED—STATEMENT ON THE WHOLE "SITUATION" TO LORD GREY—HIS VIEWS IN ANSWER—QUESTION OF THE HEIRESS TO THE THRONE LIVING ABROAD—PRECEDENT IN THE DAUGHTERS OF JAMES II.—THE PRINCESS—LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY—MISS MERCER (LADY KEITH) AND MISS KNIGHT—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—REVELATIONS OF THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE REGENT, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE COUNTRY—THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FOREIGN MAGNATES IN LONDON—THE PRINCE REGENT'S DEMAND THAT THE PRINCESS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM—CORRESPONDENCE ON THE AFFAIR—HOW AFFECTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FOREIGN PRINCES IN LONDON — FLIGHT OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE TO HER MOTHER—THE CONSEQUENCE.

In consequence of what had passed with the Princess Charlotte, I wrote to Lord Grey upon the whole entanglement of her situation, and desired him to consider it on its own merits, and also with a view to the state both of public feeling and of parties in Parliament. The following correspondence took place on the subject:—

TO EARL GREY.

"Lancaster, *March* 12, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I received yours the day before yesterday, and have been prevented by business

from writing till to-day, when I fear there is no certainty of your receiving this letter before you leave Howick. Therefore I shall write to-morrow or next day at length to Portman Square. In the mean time, I wish you to turn in your mind the insecurity of any promise the Prince of Orange could make to the Princess Charlotte. I doubt not he would say very readily, on her asking some pledge, '*Oh yes, certainly,*' and after the marriage they would do with her as they pleased; so that it seems as if nothing but a Parliamentary proceeding could give any real safety. However, it is clear (as you observe) that this mode should be tried by *her* first, and that the refusal, or, what is much more likely, the grant of the pledge and its subsequent forfeiture, would strengthen the ground for interference. In the mean time, while she does as may be fittest *for her*, there is no reason why in Parliament, and on public grounds, independently of her, the question should not be mooted. But this is leading into a long discussion, and may better be deferred till I write fully. All I am anxious about is to warn you against the personal prejudices which some of our friends are so fond of mixing with even the most sound and general questions. You prevented *these* from interfering upon the subject of Burdett's motion last session, and I daresay you will have a similar difficulty in our cause now. The old Princess's affairs will be sought to be mixed up with this, which in reality stands quite apart from them. It would be perfect folly to mix them together. Of the Cochrane business I know nothing, except that I have received general retainers for the respective parties within the last three or four days, apparently in the contempla-

tion of some proceedings *in a high tone.* Who is implicated I can't say, except as I see in the newspapers.* Yarmouth and Lowther were at first much talked of. You will see in to-day's papers a good deal of talk about a canvass for me in Westminster. I know nothing at all about it, and shall probably hear no more. I feel pretty indifferent upon the subject, for though I have seen quite enough to convince me that it is the only chance I have of ever seeing the inside of the House of Commons again, it would be a seat somewhat hard to sit upon.—Believe me ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *March* 15, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your letter to-day, and am sorry that I have neither notes nor books near me to enable me to enter into the discussion of the point alluded to. But generally, I think, I can trust myself so far as to say that there is no law preventing the heir-apparent from going beyond seas. The only restraining law of this kind of which I am aware, is that clause in the Act of Settlement (12 and 13 W. III.) which provides that the successor to the crown, *after Anne,* shall not go abroad without consent of Parliament; but this is only to restrain the actual sovereign, and it was repealed in the first year of George I. The King for the time being (that is, in the present case, the Regent) has a general power of

* It was in the preceding February that the false rumour about Napoleon, charged as a conspiracy for raising the Funds, occurred, which led to the celebrated imprisonment of Lord Cochrane. See the true history of the affair in Lord Brougham's 'Statesmen of the Time of George III.'

disposing of the persons of the family under age, for the case of the grandchildren of George I. (so profligately answered by ten or twelve judges) only goes to infants apparently. It is worth remarking, however, that these judges, who argue most strongly for the prerogative, give as one reason the danger of the royal family scattered abroad in foreign countries. But as to positive law there is none, I take it, one way or another. The case is one for Parliamentary interference, upon the broad constitutional grounds. Indeed I am inclined to *think* a *fair* argument against the marriage might be raised (certainly not upon precedent or authority, but upon analogy); for jealous as our law is of the interference of aliens, is it not anomalous that we should have no jealousy of a foreign sovereign prince obtaining such insight as the King-Consort must always possess? However, this is a mere speculation. But, at all events, the principle of it should so far operate as to prevent anything more than is necessary from being permitted. There will be time enough when we meet to discuss this further.

"You will before this time have perceived by my last letter that the same view of the advantage of the Princess retiring for a little time has forcibly struck me, which you appear to feel so strongly. On the other hand, her own strong inclination to have some Parliamentary discussion, by way of security for her, should not be overlooked; and quite independent of *her*, the question should be viewed on its own merits. —Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

In answer to what I had written to Lord Grey relating to the difficult situation in which the Princess

Charlotte was placed, I received from him the following letter, to which he shortly afterwards added a second, supplying an omission he had made in the first:—

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *March* 7, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The subject of your letter, which I received last night, is involved, I fear, in a good deal of difficulty. I do not mean that what is right is in any degree doubtful. There can be no question, I think, as to the propriety of stipulating that the Princess's chief residence should be in England; and this, if necessary, I shall not hesitate to state as my opinion in the House of Lords. But if it comes to that, though I may acquit my conscience, and have, as I think I shall have, the best of the argument, I am afraid we shall do little as to the object itself. You know the general servility of Parliament—the timidity, to give it the softest name, of many of our friends, even after all their experience, with respect to any question which may be deemed personal to the Prince—and the motives which would not fail to be ascribed to me personally if I were to appear very forward and eager in such a question. You know me too well to suppose that either the fear of failure, or of the obloquy which might attend it, would deter me from doing what I thought essentially right and necessary; and ultimately it may come to this. But where the interest of another person, and particularly such an interest, is at stake, every previous measure of conciliation should be tried to obtain that which, I fear, cannot be obtained in any other way. In all events, such a course must be useful, either to improve the chances of success, if

there are any, or to diminish the disadvantages of failure, by showing that strong measures were not resorted to till every other hope had failed.

"I am therefore of opinion that this matter can, in the first instance at least, be brought forward with advantage only by the Princess herself. This ought to have been done when the marriage was first proposed to her. It is not now, however, too late; and a temperate but firm application to the Prince for a previous security that she never shall be compelled to leave England against her will, or for a longer time than she may approve, would, I think, be the right measure. I cannot conceive on what ground such an application could be resisted. It could not, however, fail of success ultimately, if resolutely supported; and at all events would, as I have already said, greatly assist any ulterior measure in Parliament, if such should become necessary.

"In the short interval since I received your letter, I have not been able to look back to the case of Queen Anne, and I am not sure that I have materials here for such a search. But I cannot conceive that this can form any precedent. Queen Anne was married before her father's abdication, when she had an elder sister, not hopeless of children, and a brother between her and the throne. There was not therefore, at that time, any greater necessity for providing for her residence here than for that of our Princess-Royal. Besides, in point of fact, I never heard that it was proposed to take her to Denmark, or that she ever went there. I need not say how widely different the case is of the Princess Charlotte, who now stands next to the Prince in succession to the crown.

"I have lost no time in saying what has occurred to me on this subject, because I really take a deep interest in it, and am most anxious to do with respect to it whatever may be found most useful for the Princess and the public; and there is nobody whose opinions I shall be more anxious to consult upon it than yours. I shall therefore be very much obliged to you to communicate to me all you think and know. It is, as you say, a case of a very delicate character; but if there are any circumstances of a *peculiar* nature, I should wish to be informed of them. My motives to this wish you will understand from what I have already said, and as to the caution which is required in the manner of conducting it. To do this in the best manner, one should know everything that can be known, whether of a public or a private nature.

"I am very glad you have had no communication on this matter with the old Princess, and would strongly recommend a strict observance of the same reserve; not only because I do not think her discretion to be trusted, but because any appearance of connecting this with her disagreement with the Prince would have the worst effect, both as to the success of the object you have in view and the credit of all those who may assist in promoting it. What I have written I mean only for yourself, and to be communicated to no other person at present.—Ever yours,

"GREY.

"I shall probably set out for London the beginning of next week."

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *March* 15, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The case of Queen Mary is much more in point than that of Queen Anne; but even that is very different from the present, and the times still more. Besides, the motives of James II. for keeping her out of England do not make this a very good precedent.—Yours in haste, GREY."

The Princess Charlotte's resolution appeared to gain daily more strength, as she discovered the intention of sending her abroad; although at one moment, while this was kept concealed from her, she had actually given her consent.

The following letters, written at that time, show the determination on both sides—the Princess's, not to yield without a positive condition of residence in England; the Prince's, to refuse that condition. In fact, it was a refusal on her part to the match:—

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *March* 17, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I was prevented yesterday and the day before from concluding my letter of Monday.

"The Prince's great object is to get the Princess Charlotte out of the way, to Holland; and he will also try to surround her with creatures of his own. This may do for a while; but I am confident she will look about her immediately, and Holland is the country best adapted for boring her, and making her wish to be at home again. Nor is it possible that, while she

remains there, she should not have access to such Englishmen as may choose to go over; and I presume that if she is kept there by constraint, a few lines of remonstrance—followed, if necessary, by a direct communication to Parliament—would speedily discomfit the plot. I fancy most people would take *her* part in such a contest. Indeed, you will see abundant disposition to do so even now.

"But upon constitutional grounds, and wholly independent of her personal convenience or feelings upon the matter, it should seem that Parliamentary notice ought to be taken of the singular situation in which this marriage will place her—viz., under control of a person *not amenable* to *our laws*, and who may carry her out of the realm. Then if she is carried abroad, and the crown devolves on her, as it may any day, can any situation be conceived more absurd than for the Queen of this country to be abroad as a subject of a foreign state? and a subject, by the laws of that state, incapable of leaving its territory without the consent of her husband?

"I mentioned Miss Mercer as having behaved ill on some occasions. Of this there is no doubt. She has been very selfish, and endeavoured to monopolise the Princess. She has gone great lengths in courting the Prince with this view, and kept the Princess from being attentive to some persons whom he dislikes—*e.g.*, Lord and Lady Tavistock. But I believe she has no influence of any weight.—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *March* 21, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—The circumstance of

delicacy respecting the Princess Charlotte to which I have alluded, is, that, notwithstanding all appearances (calculated, I admit, to lead towards an opposite conclusion), she continues in the same mind as formerly, retains the same opinion of her father, and is only kept by the constraint incident to her situation from coming to open rupture. The *overt act* of these intentions to which I am especially alluding is, that she has recently opened a communication with me, and desired my advice respecting her marriage and the carrying her out of the country. The person through whom this is carried on is Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and I enclose the last letter received from her, which I beg you to return. One of the two letters which she refers to contained earnest advice to the purport suggested by you. The absolute necessity of keeping this wholly secret—above all, from the old Princess—places Lady Charlotte Lindsay in a very delicate situation; but she is quite convinced that whatever is for the benefit of the young Princess, and tends to keep her out of her father's hands and Yarmouth's, is for the mother's good in the long-run. Miss Knight is another obstacle; for though I think well of her, I would not allow her to know anything about the matter, for the sake of caution; so that I desired Lady Charlotte on no account to say a word while she was by, and this created some delay.

"In order to explain these proceedings, and indeed to vindicate the Princess Charlotte from an imputation of rashness, and myself also, I must go a little back, and mention the two circumstances on which principally I take whatever confidence she has in me to be founded. About the end of 1812 (before the explo-

sion of *the letter*) she grew extremely impatient, and resolved to *leave Windsor*, by running away to her mother's, and desired this plan to be communicated to me. I need not enter into details, which are long; but I certainly prevented this step from being taken. She then wished to see me privately, to talk over her case, and had arranged a scheme for the purpose; but I refused peremptorily, and explained the extreme danger to herself of such proceedings, but continued to advise her through her mother.

"The other circumstance is, that she having afterwards written a letter, I believe in the most frank and confidential terms, to a political friend in whose discretion I had no kind of confidence, and sent it to me to deliver to him, I of my own authority stopt it and kept it, refusing to deliver it either to the person to whom it was written, or to the mother, through whom I received it. A week had not elapsed before she was quite convinced that I had saved her from a dreadful scrape in both those quarters, and expressed her relief and gratitude most fully.

"I believe that these circumstances, rather than my connection with the Princess of Wales, are the origin of her late communication (and of others of lesser note last summer). The affair of Lady Perceval, indeed, was not likely to make her look much towards her mother at this moment; and, conscientiously speaking, I really could not recommend any one to have any communication with the latter while the most remote possibility remains of her ever seeing that *friend*.

"I must now add that she agreed to the match as a mere matter of convenience and *emancipation*, caring for the Prince of Orange literally nothing. The

Prince Regent never named it to her, but brought the Prince of Orange to her before he went abroad, and then left the room. The latter popped the question, and she said, Yes. This is the literal fact. These details may furnish you with means of estimating how things stand in that quarter. She is aware of all that has been said against her, and suspected of her, and is much hurt with it, though apparently not denying that her necessities have made her give a colour to such stories. How far she is to be relied on is another matter. I only tell you what I know.

"As for Miss Mercer, she has little or no influence with her, but of this hereafter. You may believe me when I say so. I have more to say, but have no time to-night.—Believe me ever most truly yours,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"Pray write by return."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *April* 14, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I enclose a few notes respecting the heir apparent and presumptive. The books are very meagre on the subject, and we are left almost entirely to the general superintending powers of Parliament. However, these references clearly demonstrate that Parliament has at all times taken the heir or heiress presumptive into its consideration. Indeed I do not know any instance of a difference made between heir apparent and presumptive except in the treason law, and even there it seems to depend on the sex as well as the apparency; for though Lord Hale thinks that the grandson comes within the protection of the statute (25 Ed. III. c. 2), as falling under the words

(*filz eigne et hiere*), it can scarcely be supposed that the eldest daughter of an heir-apparent deceased, and leaving no sons, would be held to answer the description. The rights to the Duchy, &c., are still more confined to the eldest son." I have not had time to look through my notes on these subjects, but have gone through the parts most likely to offer matter applicable to the case in question.

"If I find anything else I shall send it.

"I send two volumes, one of State Trials and the other of Parliamentary History.—Yours ever truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Thursday, ½-past 3 o'clock.*

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I am just returned from a three hours' visit at Warwick House, where I arrived at a most critical and interesting moment. When I came in Princess Charlotte told me that she was very anxious to see me, for she had come to a resolution to have a thorough explanation with the Prince of Orange: that as no preparation was making for any house for them, she felt convinced that they meant to play her a trick, and get her out of England as soon as she should be married. She also told me that she found the Prince of Orange much changed in his language about her mother, and taking part more with the Prince Regent; that she was determined to support her mother, and felt that both she and her mother should remain in England, and support and protect each other. In all the popular applause she has lately received, her name has always been coupled with her mother's, which seems to have had a great effect upon her. While we

were talking the Prince of Orange was announced: she went to him, and desired that I should remain where I was, to hear the result of their conference, which has ended in her *positive declaration* that she will *not leave England now*, but will avail herself of the discretionary power promised her in the contract; and gave as her reason the situation of the Princess of Wales, whom she thought herself bound in duty not to leave under her present circumstances. He appeared to be very unhappy, but seemed to admit that if Princess Charlotte adhered to this resolution, the marriage must be off. He begged her to reconsider it, and left the house in much agitation. All this proves that it was the intention to send them immediately to Holland, or to break off the match in case of Princess Charlotte's availing herself of the power given her in the words of the contract. She seems to be quite resolved not to yield, and has promised to let me know the moment this matter is completely ended. I wish you had been in my pocket to have given your advice; but I think she must not be blamed, for surely she is only consistent in requiring to remain in England, and his behaviour shows that he knew that they meant to send them to Holland immediately. Of course, all this must be quite secret at present. Will it be beneficial or hurtful to the Princess of Wales that it should be known that her daughter insists upon staying in England upon her account? I am to meet the Princess of Wales to-night at the play, for she persists in her intention of going there, although Ward wrote to her, and I gave her your opinion also upon that point. If ladies are allowed to go to the Freemasons' Tavern to-morrow, I shall be there. I have sent to ask Lady

Elizabeth Whitbread to take me. If she don't go, can you get me admitted, in case I come there with my nephew? Then, perhaps, we might get a little conversation after the business is over. I am afraid that I am as great a plague to you as Lady Westmoreland is to me; but this is a critical moment. Adieu.—Ever truly yours, C. LINDSAY."

Such was the state of things between the Princess Charlotte and her father in July 1814, when he suddenly, by a message, let her know that her ladies were to be changed, and that her establishment was to be put on a new footing, about which she had not been at all consulted.

Having taken every possible precaution to avoid a false step on the Princess's part, we had made up our minds to the bitterest hostility being encountered by her advisers. As all anxiety or doubt on that score was at an end, we only had to await the event of our measures, and certainly could not have hoped for such an error as the adverse party at once committed, and which immediately made the day our own.

The Regent thought he had devised a cunning way of meeting the letter, of which he had intimation, on the Princess requesting to know when and where it would be received.* His difficulty was to answer it; and he made Liverpool state that all communications must be addressed to the ministers, for that as to the letter he himself could neither receive nor read it. There could not be a greater mistake, indeed a more enormous blunder, than he and his advisers committed in this refusal. Of course they must have presumed

* See above, p. 160.

that the letter, though addressed to him, was much more intended for the public, unless a satisfactory answer should be given; and that nothing could possibly prevent its reaching the public but such an answer to the remonstrance as would place, or be universally believed to place, the Princess and her advisers in the wrong. The refusal to read, or in any way to entertain the subject, gave us a complete right to publish, and to complain of the refusal as an aggravation of the cause of complaint. We published it accordingly, and it was read and devoured by the whole country. I recollect no instance of such effects being produced by any statement of a case, or appeal to the public upon a grievance. The suddenness of the proceeding, and the plain and simple nature of the complaint on a subject by which the domestic feelings of all were affected, no doubt contributed mainly to the effect produced. The impression made against the Prince, and in favour of his wife and child, was universal and inconceivable; and the daughter was regarded as making common cause with her mother—at all events, as suffering under the same maltreatment. The men of Carlton House were undeceived too late, and any answer of an ordinary kind would now have proved unavailing. No defence was possible of the conduct pursued; and any extenuation of it, or even explanation, came too late. Nothing but a positive denial of the statement could be of the least avail. The Prince and his advisers were therefore driven to commit a second error, almost as great as their first. For the first we had not been prepared—it seemed too great a blunder to be possible, and we never had contemplated the possibility. We were not so much taken

unawares by the second, which was, that they had recourse to recrimination. They raked up all the parts of the evidence taken in the Secret Inquiry of 1806, and published whatever was unexplained, and which made against the Princess, without giving the judgment of entire acquittal pronounced by the commission, composed principally of the Prince's friends, after full examination of the whole matter. Thus all the details of the pregnancy, confinement, and delivery were given, and filled the newspapers for three days, making them utterly offensive to all readers. The public was universally filled with disgust; and though some persons might for a moment give credit to the story, yet there being direct proofs that the child was that of a known mother—a sailmaker's wife at Deptford, as the commission had reported before a week was over — the attempt to impeach the Princess's credit in any way had entirely failed, and the indignation raised by the letter was increased greatly by the course taken to answer it.

But besides these publications of the evidence taken in 1806, and indeed preparatory to that publication—which, however, they always denied, though they could give no explanation of its having got out—they had recourse to a proceeding in the Privy Council as irregular as the one some years before. On the pretence that the letters contained a charge against the Prince of having suborned perjured witnesses in 1806, a summons was issued to all the law lords of the Privy Council, the archbishops and Speaker, Master of the Rolls, and other legal members. To them the evidence taken formerly was referred, with other documents since obtained; upon all which evidence, behind the

back of the Princess, and their sitting and inquiry not being even communicated to her, they were desired to decide on the propriety of the restrictions laid upon the intercourse of the mother and daughter. They, of course, made a report that the restriction should continue, and also that there was no ground for any charge against the Prince Regent respecting the proceedings of 1806.* The publication of the letters was put forward in the summons as the pretence for this proceeding. But there existed no proof that the Princess had caused the publication, and it was well known that copies of the letter had been given by persons connected with Carlton House; for Lady Melbourne had one, manifestly furnished from that quarter, and another had found its way to a great broker on the Stock Exchange. The whole proceeding excited but little attention; the country was wholly occupied with the Prince's conduct, and this new secret inquiry only added to his extreme unpopularity. The last proceeding was considered as a reassertion, by its result, of the Princess's conduct being, and having been throughout, unexceptionable. Addresses were presented to her from the city of London, and various other towns and some counties, congratulating her upon this new defeat of her enemies; and her mother's death (Duchess of Brunswick, sister of George III.) having happened at this time, many of the addresses were of condolence.

The universal contempt into which the Regent had fallen was attended with great and general commiseration for his wife and daughter—I must say, for the

* This report has been repeatedly published. It will be found in Hansard, vol. xxiv. p. 1107, and in the Appendix to Miss Knight's Autobiography.

moment, with pretty great blame of Whitbread and myself. For the public at large felt much incensed by what had been discovered, yet would apparently have been well pleased that the matter had never been brought before the public at all; and some here and there were even ready enough to blame us for interfering between husband and wife, parent and child, totally forgetting that the parties were members of the royal family and the Government of the country, and thus their conduct was a State affair. A little reflection sufficed to set matters right, and in a month I was quite confident that there would not have been found twenty persons in any part of the country unconnected with party, and beyond the influence of the Government, or rather of the Regent, that did not render us entire justice. I recollect that at the time of the letter appearing, and the first explosion it made, I was on the northern circuit, and was loudly cried out against by all the leaders except Scarlett, and to a certain degree Topping. As for the body of the circuit, they looked upon me as doomed. I had made a personal enemy of the Regent, and could never get over it; and the youngest man among them would not live to see me in a silk gown. It is singular enough that the Regent did long afterwards keep me out of my due rank, though after many intervening causes of quarrel.

Both Whitbread and I saw occasionally difficulties raised by the Princess taking advice of others, such as Lady Perceval, and Lady Anne Hamilton, when she conceived that we were too cautious in our councils.

The subject, however, both of the high parties and their advisers, was in the course of a short time

forgotten in the great events which filled up that year and the beginning of the next—the end of the war and of Napoleon. But next year renewed all the quarrels of the royal parties, and the action of their advisers, when the foreign princes came to England upon the peace.

The arrival of the foreign princes made a great sensation in the town, and caused a display at Court. The Queen (Charlotte) was made to hold a drawing-room for their reception, and the great object of the Regent was to prevent all, even the most ordinary respect and civility, being shown to the Princess his wife. The Queen, by his commands, or request—which, now the King was confined for life, had become equal to commands—refused to receive her at Court, though she might at any moment have become her successor. This was resented by the people to such a degree that the old Queen was not only assailed with yells as she passed along the street, but the vile practice was applied to her of spitting which had been introduced at late elections; and she complained of it on her arrival at the palace in her broken English, but in very plain and expressive terms: "My Lords, I be fifty year and more in this country, and well respected; but now I be shspit on."

In the following letter she announced to the Princess of Wales that her husband had forbidden her the drawing-room:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *May* 23, 1814.

"The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales that she has received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he states that her Majesty's intention

of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her Court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons for which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion either in public or private.

"The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her Majesty's receiving her Royal Highness at her drawing-rooms. CHARLOTTE, R."

To this the Princess returned an answer, which had been carefully considered and prepared, and in communication with the Princess Charlotte. The following letters passed between Whitbread and me on the subject:—

TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"WESTMINSTER, *One o'clock.*

"I fear I shall be detained here for half an hour longer; and therefore, in case you go before I can overtake you, I wish to mention what occurs to me, subject to your opinion. I think H.R.H. should to-day send a letter to the Queen, protesting against the order, both on the grounds of the dark insinuations in the Prince Regent's communication, and because her restoration to Court seven years ago was the symbol of her complete acquittal; and she cannot waive the right of going there *now*, without admitting inferences injurious to her honour, especially as certain proceedings have been held respecting her since she

was last at Court, and it is known that the result of these has been a full confirmation, and, if possible, an extension, of the former acquittal. She should again dare them to *speak out;* assert that *they know* they have nothing to say against her; and then leave the letter a *day,* to see what answer they make. If they do nothing, publish.

"This is what occurs to me as clear. I shall be in Dover Street, if I can't get further, so as to settle the letter before it is finally agreed on.—Yours ever,

"H. B."

FROM S. WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am obliged to go to the committee at Drury Lane, and cannot therefore wait for you, but you may find me there till half-past two.

"I have the copies for you. I feel confident in what I have recommended, but exceedingly regret the untowardness of little circumstances which prevented my having your previous sanction. I purposely abstained from the mention of the Princess Charlotte, and thought it best to construct the letter with the apparent expectation of its ending there—which, upon reflection, I do not think it can or will.

"I do not recollect how she signs herself, therefore be so good as to add her signature, and take such steps as you may think proper about the publication. I think Friday would be better than to-morrow, but the Princess is very impatient for the printing. I shall be very glad to see you—at all events, to have a letter.—Yours truly, S. WHITBREAD.

"DOVER STREET, *May* 24, 1814."

We met, accordingly, the same evening. I having considered the draft which he had sent me, and being clear that it would not do, especially from its omission of the Princess Charlotte, with whom we had been in communication through her mother, another answer was framed, and, after much consideration, was communicated to the Princess of Wales.

Her letter, as sent to the Queen at Windsor, was as follows:*

"MADAM,—I have received the letter which your Majesty has done me the honour to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public drawing-rooms which will be held by your Majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret.

"I will not presume to discuss with your Majesty topics which must be as painful to your Majesty as to myself.

"Your Majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard with which the King was so kind as to honour me up to the period of his Majesty's indisposition, which no one of his Majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself, and that his Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation by his public reception of me at his Court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me, where I have since uninterruptedly paid my respects to your Majesty.

"I am now without appeal or protector, but I cannot so far forget my duty to the King and to myself

* See below, p. 223.

as to surrender my right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by your Majesty.

"That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your Majesty's situation, I yield in the present instance to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, announced to me by your Majesty, and shall not present myself at your Majesty's drawing-rooms of next month.

"It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to inquire of your Majesty the reasons of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his Royal Highness can alone be the judge.

"I am unconscious of offence, and in that reflection I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience—even for this, the last, the most unexpected, and the most severe, the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your Majesty to offer my congratulations to your Majesty upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages who will in all probability be assembled at your Majesty's Court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage.

"I beseech your Majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your Majesty is the only person competent, by acquainting those illustrious personages with the motives of personal consideration towards your Majesty which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your Majesty; and that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation which could render me unworthy of their society or regard.

"Your Majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from a suspicion of disrespect towards your Majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from Court at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance.—I have the honour to be your Majesty's most obedient daughter-in-law and servant,

"CAROLINE, P.*

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *May* 24, 1814."

The Queen, though at Windsor, returned immediately this answer:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *May* 25, 1814.

"The Queen has received this afternoon the Princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the Prince Regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the disposition expressed by her Royal Highness not to discuss with her topics which must be painful to both.

"The Queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the Princess of Wales's letter to the Prince Regent; and her Majesty could have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers who may possibly be present at her Court the circumstances which will prevent the Princess of Wales from appearing there, if her Royal Highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish to this effect unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence.

"CHARLOTTE, R."

* This correspondence was transmitted to the Speaker, and read by him in the House of Commons on the 3d June. The reading was followed by an excited debate.—See Hansard for June 1814, p. 1047.

The next day a very temperate though firm answer was returned:—

"The Princess of Wales has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the Queen, dated yesterday; and begs permission to return her best thanks to her Majesty for her gracious condescension in the willingness expressed by her Majesty to have communicated to the illustrious strangers who will, in all probability, be present at her Majesty's Court, the reasons which have induced her Royal Highness not to be present.

"Such communication, as it appears to her Royal Highness, cannot be the less necessary on account of any publicity which it may be in the power of her Royal Highness to give to her motives; and the Princess of Wales therefore entreats the active good offices of her Majesty upon an occasion wherein the Princess of Wales feels it so essential to her that she should not be misunderstood. CAROLINE, P.

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *May* 26, 1814."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *May* 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The Queen has sent a formal letter to the Princess of Wales, stating that she has received a communication '*from her son the Prince Regent,*' that for reasons of state he must attend her drawing-rooms, but that 'he is fixed in his resolution never to be in the same place, public or private, with the Princess of Wales, for reasons of which he alone can judge.' Therefore the Queen desires she may not come to Court!!!

"It being impossible to bear this unless she means to admit all that any one may choose to impute (for the *mysterious reasons* will cover any accusation), she has returned a strong answer, which I have not seen, but on the grounds pointed out by me, referring to the reception at Court seven years ago as a symbol of her acquittal, the subsequent proceedings and further acquittal last year, the reasons alluded to by the Prince, and taking high ground as to anything they may choose to attempt now.

"I was prevented from going to her to-day with Whitbread, by being kept at the King's Bench till a late hour; but I saw him last night, and wrote my ideas on the subject fully this morning. And the letter was drawn up by him on these grounds, and sent off before dinner. The Queen's note came last night, but a day or two is to be given them to retract if they please.

"I suppose no more signal blunder was ever committed. If the Princess had been to wish for a thing, it should have been for this. The Prince must really be mad.—Yours ever most truly, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *May* 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The troubles of the worthy Regent thicken. He has had an intimation that Alexander means to call on the Princess of Wales when he comes; and this makes him furious. They say Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt is gone to prevent it—probably to prevent him from coming at all. Then the Duchess of Oldenburg is angry at the Carlton House newspapers abusing her; and the Prince, being afraid

of her, has denied it. For a trifle the Duchess has been good enough to come under Lord Erskine's wing to-day to the King's Bench, Lady Ellenborough receiving her and giving her a breakfast there. But the worst is to come.

"Since I wrote to you I learnt that, by a most unaccountable mistake of my suggestions, the Princess had written a mealy-mouthed letter to the Queen, and *agreed not to go* to Court. The scrape, though very bad, has been turned to excellent account; for that letter being to the Queen, another is now gone to the Prince himself, of the firmest quality possible. I have not time to copy it, as the post is just going; but this is the most material part of it. She reminds him of her challenging him in vain to come forward, and tells him she must submit to his insinuations, or to be treated as guilty after being declared innocent; and she asks him whether he is aware that the time will come when he *must* meet her in public, mentioning 'the *daughter's marriage* and *their own coronation*.' I suppose he will shake a little at this; at least Macmahon said 'he trembled in his shoes' when some one asked whether the Princess's declaration referred to a coronation.

"In short, he is in such a mess that I question if they don't retract and countermand the drawing-rooms. You perceive, of course, that the complying with the Queen's request as to the drawing-rooms, and writing a civil sort of letter at first, does very well with this addition, as it is only sparing the Queen, who acts from compulsion.—Ever yours most truly,

"H. B."

It was quite impossible that this treatment should be submitted to without a solemn remonstrance, both on the part of the Princess and her daughter. The following letter, therefore, was addressed to the Prince on the same day with the last letter to the Queen, it having been well considered and prepared while that correspondence with the Queen was going on.

It will be found that this letter contains, in a condensed form, the substance of the letter to the Prince of the year before, the grievances which had given rise to that letter having been increased by what happened in the interval; more especially by the new proceeding upon the arrival of the foreign princes.

"Sir,—I am once more compelled to address your Royal Highness, and to enclose for your inspection copies of a note which I have had the honour to receive from the Queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her Majesty. It would be in vain for me to inquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your Royal Highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet me in public or in private. Of these your Royal Highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive by my answer to her Majesty that I have been only restrained by motives of personal consideration towards her Majesty from exercising my right of appearing before her Majesty at the public drawing-rooms to be held in the ensuing month.

"But, Sir, lest it should be by possibility supposed that the words of your Royal Highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to

demand of your Royal Highness what circumstances can justify the proceeding you have thus thought fit to adopt?

"I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your Royal Highness of what you know, that after open persecution and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that after the first I was restored by the King, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his Court upon my complete acquittal.

"Since his Majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of Parliament and the country, to be proved guilty, or to be treated as innocent. I have been declared what I am—innocent.

"I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

"Your Royal Highness may possibly refuse to read this letter; but the world must know that I have written it; and they will see my real motives for foregoing in this instance the rights of my rank.

"Occasions, however, may arise (one, I trust, is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your Royal Highness must be present also.

"Can your Royal Highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your Royal Highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation?

"I waive my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the Queen as far as I can from the painful situation in which she is placed by your Royal Highness; not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the

existence of those rights, or my own worthiness to enjoy them.

"Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England; amongst others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law.

"From their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your Royal Highness in the peace of Europe.

"My daughter will for the first time appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire.

"This season your Royal Highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and of all his Majesty's subjects I alone am prevented by your Royal Highness from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy; and am deprived of the indulgence in feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me.—I am, Sir, your Royal Highness's faithful wife, CAROLINE, P.

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *May* 26, 1814."

I was dining at Michael Angelo Taylor's, and in the midst of dinner a message came to me that I was wanted at Connaught Place, the residence of the Princess of Wales. I had been up almost all the night before in a cause, and in consequence of this was exceedingly fatigued. I conceived that this was one of the many occasions on which the Princess sent for me unnecessarily, and that the message being verbal must be owing to the accident of her lady-in-waiting being

out of the way, and I said I was unable to go. The messenger sent back word that I was wanted on most particular business, and that a coach was waiting at the door by express commands. I was obliged to comply, and fell asleep as soon as I stept into it, not awaking till it reached Connaught Place. I stumbled up-stairs, still half-asleep, to the drawing-room. To my astonishment, I found both my hands seized by the Princess Charlotte, who said how impatient she had been at the delay, which was owing to her messenger having first gone to my chambers in the Temple. I asked by what extraordinary accident I had the honour and pleasure of seeing her Royal Highness there. She said, "Oh, it is too long to tell now, for I have ordered dinner, and I hope it will soon come up." She only added that she had come out of Warwick House alone, and had got into the first hackney-coach she could see in Cockspur Street, and had sent to Blackheath for her mother, who arrived some time after with Lady Charlotte Lindsay. We sat down to dinner, and she was in high spirits, seeming to enjoy herself like a bird set loose from its cage. I said I had nearly dined before her message reached me. She said, "You may eat a little bit with us, and at any rate you can carve." I said the only dish I could carve was the soup. However, the dinner went on very merrily. Miss Mercer (afterwards Lady Keith and wife of Count Flahault) had been sent by the Prince as soon as her flight from Warwick House was known, there being no doubt entertained as to where she had gone.

I happened to know that the Duke of Sussex dined in the neighbourhood, and I wrote a note to beg he

would come, which he did in the course of an hour. There came while we were at table various persons sent by the Regent:—the Chancellor Eldon, Bishop of Salisbury (the tutor), Ellenborough, Adam Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Leach. All arrived one after another, and as they were announced the Princess or her daughter said what was to be done with each. Eldon being named, they said, "Oh no; let him wait in his carriage," which was, like that of the Princess Charlotte and all the others, a hackney-coach. I said a word for Ellenborough as my chief, but in vain. They said he may remain as well as Old Baggs. When Leach was named, they called him "Ridicule," "Reticule," or Little Baggs. But the Bishop was ordered to be shown into the dining-room below—we having dined in the drawing-room above stairs; and so was the Duke of York, who came much later. The Duke of Sussex, not having been sent by the Regent, was brought up-stairs; and none of the others had any communication with our party except the Duke of York, whom the Princess of Wales saw for a few minutes in the room below. It happened, unfortunately, that the Duke of Sussex for the last nine years had not seen the Princess of Wales, or had any communication with her, in consequence of the charge against her which led to the proceedings in 1806 having been made as a communication to him by Lady Douglas, wife of his equerry, and conveyed by the Duke to the Regent. However, no one could have supposed there was the least dryness between them, to see how warmly they embraced. Indeed the Duke had taken no further part in the proceeding than communicating Lady Douglas's story, which he

was bound to do. He and the Princess talked in German, but this was well understood by the Princess Charlotte and also by Miss Mercer, so that nothing was concealed which passed. After dinner I first begged the Princess Charlotte to give me a full account of what had caused her flight. She said she could not bear any longer the treatment she met with of changing her ladies without her consent, and of interrupting her intercourse with her mother and Margaret (meaning Miss Mercer), her most intimate friend; and that it was her fixed resolution, after throwing herself on her mother's protection, to reside with her entirely. But she dwelt much upon the match; and though I repeated what I had often assured her of, that without her consent freely given it never could take place, she said, "They may wear me out by ill-treatment, and may represent that I have changed my mind and consented." We then conversed upon the subject with the others, and after a long discussion on that and her lesser grievances, she took me aside and asked me what, upon the whole, I advised her to do. I said at once, "Return to Warwick House or Carlton House, and on no account to pass a night out of her own house." She was extremely affected, and cried, asking if I too refused to stand by her. I said quite the contrary, and that as to the marriage I gave no opinion, except that she must follow her own inclination entirely, but that her returning home was absolutely necessary; and in this all the rest fully agreed—her mother, the Duke of Sussex, Miss Mercer, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, for whom she had a great respect and regard. I said that, however painful it was for me, the necessity was so

clear and so strong that I had not the least hesitation in advising it. She again and again begged me to consider her situation, and to think whether, looking to that, it was absolutely necessary she should return. The day now began to dawn, and I took her to the window. The election of Cochrane (after his expulsion owing to the sentence of the court, which both insured his re-election and abolished the Pillory) was to take place that day. I said, "Look there, Madam: in a few hours all the streets and the park, now empty, will be crowded with tens of thousands. I have only to take you to that window, and show you to the multitude, and tell them your grievances, and they will all rise in your behalf." "And why should they not?" I think she said, or some such words. "The commotion," I answered, "will be excessive; Carlton House will be attacked—perhaps pulled down; the soldiers will be ordered out; blood will be shed; and if your Royal Highness were to live a hundred years, it never would be forgotten that your running away from your father's house was the cause of the mischief: and you may depend upon it, such is the English people's horror of bloodshed, you never would get over it." She at once felt the truth of my assertion, and consented to see her uncle Frederic (the Duke of York) below stairs, and return with him. But she required one of the royal carriages should be sent for, which came with her governess, and they with the Duke of York went home about five o'clock.* Before she went, however, she desired me to make a minute of her declaration

* See a reference to this scene in 'Contributions to the Edinburgh Review,' by Henry Lord Brougham, vol. i. p. 470, article "George IV. and Queen Caroline."—Edinburgh Review, October 1838.

that she was resolved not to marry the Prince of Orange, and that if ever there should be an announcement of such a match, it must be understood to be without her consent and against her will. She added, "I desire Augustus" (Duke of Sussex) "and Mr Brougham would particularly take notice of this." When I had made the note, it was read distinctly and signed by all present, she signing first, and six copies were made and signed, and one given to each person present. Her positive injunction was, that if ever we heard the match announced as being to proceed, we should make her declaration in the note public. What had passed was in substance known to the Regent, and put an end to all further attempts to bring about the marriage. It soon got out that the affair was effectually stopt, and the talk in the clubs was, "Young Princy has thrown over the Frog"—alluding to the name given to the Dutchman by Swift, and to the name used to describe the Princess and her mother, arising from an old pleasantry of the Prince, who used to be much a visitor at Mrs Orde's (afterwards Mrs Creevey); and being very kind to the children, he used to make them call him Princy. So the term "Mother," or "Mrs Princy," came afterwards to be used for the Princess, and Young Princy for her daughter.

The Regent never forgave the Duke of Sussex for the part he took in this affair, and charged him, most unjustly, with having contributed to break off the match, in which he had really no kind of share, except from the accident of his dining in the neighbourhood of Connaught Place, and being asked to come on the wholly unexpected occasion of the Princess Charlotte going to her mother's house, which he could not by

any possibility have foreseen; and it is quite certain that he never had any communication, on any subject, with her before that night, from the terms on which he was with her mother. But the Regent mixed him up with the whole refusal to marry; and having assembled all the family, he gave them warning that they must choose between him and the Duke. All, except the Duke of Gloucester, yielded to this threat. He very manfully refused to give up the Duke of Sussex, and the penalty was not enforced of the Regent's displeasure; for he soon after married his favourite sister, Princess Mary, and ever after enjoyed his share of his favour.*

Cochrane (Dundonald) in his Autobiography has stated that it was the Duke of Sussex who appealed to the Princess Charlotte, by referring to the crowd which would cover the streets at the election, and that she expressed her hope of Cochrane being returned, and her disapproval of his sentence. For this dream of the Duke (if he was the relater of it) there is not the shadow of a foundation. He had no conversation whatever with her but in presence of the rest of the company; and the account which I have here given was in every essential particular published before the Duke's death, and was read by him before it was published. He made one or two trifling corrections, especially as to his having only been the channel of communication in the case of Lady Douglas; and to gratify him I adopted them, as they did not alter materially what had been written. The Duke of Sussex thought it necessary to bring before the House

* The Duke of Gloucester, nephew of George III., married his cousin the Princess Mary, daughter of George III.

of Lords the treatment of the Princess Charlotte, and was desirous, as was the Princess herself, to interest Lord Grey in this proceeding. But I told them that he certainly would not take a forward part in it, as I knew from his having highly approved of my declining last year to send him a communication from the Princess, and of his having lately expressed his great reluctance to take any active part in the Orange match. I said, however, that I was perfectly confident he would take the right course in Parliament if the question was brought forward, which he very probably thought would be of no benefit to the Princess Charlotte, and he would advise the Duke of Sussex not to move in it. I thereupon wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"*July* 13, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—Having a good deal to say, I make no preface. Last night, between nine and ten, being summoned in great haste to the Princess of Wales's, I went instantly. Being sleepy, I napped the whole way, and on arriving half-awake entered the room and saw strange faces. One ran up to me, took me by the hand, and said she was glad to see me, naming me. I found it was the Princess Charlotte, who said, 'I have just run off.' Miss Mercer on a chair near. I got quite awake now, and desired immediately the particulars from her and Miss Mercer, which I wrote down. They are as follows: The Prince, at six o'clock, entered her room, and said: 'Your establishment here is at an end; to-night you sleep at Carlton House. Miss Knight and all your servants are dismissed. She and every one about you

are the scandal of the whole town. Your new establishment is all ready at Carlton House, and consists of Lady Ilchester, Lady Rosslyn, two Miss Coates's, and Mrs Campbell' (whom he had turned off for Nott's affair, and abused bitterly). 'You shall see no one, especially Lady Jersey and Miss Rawdon.' She was greatly alarmed, ran into Miss Mercer's room (who was dressing), and while there a knock came: she said, 'I have but a moment; I will go to my mother's.' She rushed out of the house alone, got into a hackney-coach, promised a large reward if driven so as to escape, and arrived at Connaught House. The Princess was out of town airing; she sent after her and brought her back.

"After she left Warwick House the Prince came to Miss Mercer, and learned she was gone—ordered his Cabinet, with Adam and Ellenborough, to be called; spoke to Miss Mercer, saying he would say nothing till they came (you know his cowardice, and always throwing his bad cards on them), but asked Miss Mercer to go with the Bishop of Salisbury. She said, 'Do you give me authority to ask her to come back?' He said, 'No; I say nothing till the ministers come.' However, she got at last authority to demand unconditional submission. The Bishop, after considering, said, 'I will venture to go with you;' so they arrived. They had sent a proposal through him to the Prince before I came; and soon after my arrival the Bishop returned with an answer, 'That Eldon and Ellenborough having shown the ministers the Prince's rights, they were all stout, and demanded unconditional surrender and no terms.' I then said (the Bishop was kept in another room) that as they knew their rights,

it was my duty, however painful, to inform the Princess how the matter stood, and that it was in vain to deny that the Prince had her wholly in his hands. I reminded her of all I had said and written on this two years ago, and assured her in a very peremptory tone that the only question was, whether she would go with goodwill or be forced from hence by Ellenborough's Habeas Corpus, which I knew he would grant. She was affected beyond description. I have told many a client he was going to be convicted, but I never saw anything like her *stupefaction:* for a quarter of an hour she was lost. But I then made her write a letter to the Prince, giving them a loophole, and offering to return, but requesting assurances of seeing Miss Mercer and keeping Miss Rawdon. I also sent for the Duke of Sussex, whom they had named in their first letter. He came, and offered to do anything he could or I desired. Miss Knight was also sent to see the Prince, and at least the ministers. She could only see the latter, and came back; nothing but war.

"However, the Bishop gave assurance Miss Mercer should see her, and that her maid (Lewis) should be kept.

"At length, at three, came in the Prince's coach, and with his servants, the Duke of York. He was taken to a room alone, and she and Miss Mercer went to him. I made them tell him all that had passed, and claim his assistance. He said his orders were only to bring her back, and make no terms. She demanded access to her friends; he said he had no powers. She demanded his promise to do what he could; he gave it. But he would neither take Miss Mercer nor Miss Knight with him, and her maid (who had come with her things)

was with difficulty allowed. So she went, after I had given her all manner of advice and encouragement; and Miss Mercer wrote a note to the new lady-in-waiting to see the Princess by her orders, which was to be sent this morning. I have heard no more.

"In all this the worst is that Baillie has certified in writing her health to require sea-bathing. The Prince says he is not convinced of it, and will send her to Cranbourne Lodge, to coop her up. Baillie to-day told the old Princess that if her mind is thus agitated he won't answer for it not proving most dangerous to her health! I doubt if ever there was such base profligacy. I should have added that every scrap of paper in her possession, on an alarm the day before, was carried away to the Duke of Sussex's.

"Now all this is well enough hitherto, but something *must* be done. She says she *never* will marry the Prince of Orange: she vowed it to me in the most solemn way, and gave me authority to say so in her name. Now a conversation on her treatment in the House of Commons will do infinite good, and I am just going to put Tierney on it, and make him find a fit impartial person. But my plan is this, that the Dukes of Kent, Sussex, and Gloucester should remonstrate first with the ministers, they having been consulted, and then in their place in Parliament. It is the only way: they have weight in the country, and it is a public as well as family affair.

"I grieve that you are absent, and can't help thinking that, if time is given for it, you should come up, in case matters are pushed to extremities. It is impossible to deny that the greatest praise is due to the old Princess for her whole behaviour and conduct.

She gave no selfish advice, but took her daughter's part entirely, and came into all that was thought best for her, though her own case might have been bettered otherwise. Miss Mercer behaved admirably also; and though the Prince counts upon her plainly, and thinks her in his interest, I am sure she is only attached to the Princess Charlotte, who herself behaved in a way to raise her in my estimation extremely. She showed much firmness, but the greatest sensibility and good feeling. I had no idea of her having so much good in her. I had forgot to say that Miss Mercer desired me to say she does not write to you because she trusts to me doing so, and is unwell and fatigued.

"The thing is buzzed over town of course, and was so last night, and all are against the Prince.—Yours ever,

"H. B.

"Of course we can't wait for your commands; but at all events say what occurs, because possibly it may be in time to alter what might be done amiss."

TO EARL GREY.

"Eaton Socon, *July* 21, 1814.

"Dear Lord Grey,—Before leaving town I had much intercourse with our various friends, and some communication with Miss Mercer by letter, as well as constant communication with the Duke of Sussex. I have also observed and heard a great deal of the public feeling; the result is, that, on the whole, I should not be sorry if the question stood over as it now is. Nothing can be better, and I am clear a discussion will rather make the treatment (at least) appear weaker. The marriage part of it might certainly gain. There

is a good ground for hanging it over their heads, and I have begged the Duke of Sussex to use it thus in case you don't come. He may say that the ministers having acknowledged their responsibility, and the formation of an establishment requiring a little time, he defers the motion till the beginning of next session, in the hopes of their acting in the interval so as to meet the universal wish of the country. The motion is put off (meanwhile) to Wednesday, to give time for hearing your pleasure, by which it will be regulated. You can either write to Lord Rosslyn or the Duke of Sussex; and according to your letter it will be fixed for Friday, or put off as above. The chief reasons that make me desire this arrangement are, the vast impression our questions have made—as one proof, see the 'Times' wheeling round suddenly, as it did in the Princess of Wales's case; but it is quite general and strong—and next, the fear of mischief happening if active measures are taken when neither you nor myself are there. Indeed, your absence is decisive—our friends, many of them, being wavering, to say the least. The conduct of some is without excuse—Lauderdale so zealous for Carlton House that he took the regular ministerial ground of requiring explanation and notice! He was properly licked by Holland, notwithstanding Lady Holland's violence against the young Princess, for no reason that I can divine except personal spite towards me.

"Upon the whole, everything is well at present, and may be kept so and improved by prudent management. The press quite right and zealous. One word on Westminster before I conclude. They begin now to throw the blame on George Ponsonby and Whit-

bread, who, without having seen the evidence, and ignorant of the whole subject, had the incredible folly to blame the counsel for not calling the witnesses! The history of presumption offers no greater instance. We had *too* good reasons for not calling them; and were I to-morrow to conduct it, I should, after the benefit of their advice, still refuse to call any one of them, and so would all the profession. Adieu.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

The following is an extract from a letter I received from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *July* 12, 1814, *midnight.*

"The Bishop of Salisbury requested an audience of the Princess of Wales, who went to him attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsay. The Bishop said that he earnestly hoped that her Royal Highness would advise Princess Charlotte to return to her father. The Princess of Wales replied, Certainly, and that Princess Charlotte was ready to return. She only hoped to be permitted to retain Miss Knight, and not to be deprived of the satisfaction of seeing her friends. The Bishop then said that this gave him great pleasure. The conversation ended here.

"CHARLOTTE LINDSAY."

TO EARL GREY.

"*July* 19, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your excellent and satisfactory letter. I was sure you were *game;* and indeed I verily believe, had you been here, you (if not I also, encouraged by you) would have lodged in the Tower. I at first thought your coming necessary; for

it would be a tie of friendship with *her* never to be broken or forgotten, and it would be *most* material to the proceeding.

"I now tell you what this is—and I take the whole responsibility, neither Whitbread nor any other being having interfered, and the Duke of Sussex only consulting Romilly after it was begun and in progress, who fully concurred. The Duke of Sussex was evidently the man for the service, and the Lords the place.

"He instantly assented, and on Sunday sent a letter to Lord Liverpool, asking to see her; and if not, saying he should move in the House yesterday or to-day.

"Answer,—'The Regent has read the letter, and gives no commands.' To-day the Duke is gone down to the House to put five questions which I have just given him—viz.:

"1. Does she see her friends as usual?

"2. Does she write and receive letters, and has she pen, ink, and paper?

"3. Is she under the restraints generally of actual imprisonment?

"4. Did not the physicians last year, as this, advise the sea as necessary for recovery of her complaints, by writing under their hands?

"And, 5. She being much above the age when the law has repeatedly recognised her as fit to govern, has any step been taken towards an establishment necessary for her rank, and the part she will soon have to perform?

"Lord Jersey could not go to him, for luckily one part of our case is, that Lord Jersey has Adam's letter, saying nothing particular *towards her* is intended, but that *all* correspondence is interdicted.

"If no answer is given, he gives a notice for Friday.

"In great haste.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"We have a solemn minute, by Princess Charlotte's desire, to be used by me to show the match is *off for ever.*"

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *July* 24, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am sorry I did not see you as you passed Ferrybridge, I being at Michael Taylor's.

"The Duke of Sussex will do exactly as he is bid; but the most material point is to combat stoutly the idea of its being a *private* matter. The Crown has the disposal and superintendence of the family. Granted. But in what capacity? As father? No such thing. The case in 1718 relied on by the adversary proves the very reverse; it is as *Crown*, and to the *exclusion* of the natural father. This is an irresistible argument, and it leads to the unavoidable inference that the Crown only exercises the superintendence as an act of state, and through responsible servants. Peace and war, treaties, &c., are matters left to the Crown, as better able to deal with them than the Legislature; so of every other branch of the executive. But do we say that these are not matters of state? No. The care of the family is better in the hands of the Crown. But has the state no interest in the exercise of such a trust? Who else, constitutionally speaking, has *any* interest? The idea of its being a family or domestic affair is completely negatived by the law itself, which (as declared by the

judges in 1718) takes the care out of the hands of the father himself, and gives it to the King for the time being, who may be a distant relation. What, then, becomes of the trash about interfering between father and daughter? Why, again, is the Princess to be treated as a state criminal? Why are we to have a Queen so brought up? Out of Turkey is there anything so barbarous?

"I wish you would keep one thing in view as far as regards the share I have had in the business—viz., that I am very adverse to the idea of skulking, or keeping in the background. I am answerable for the advice I gave; and in this, as well as every part of the affairs of *both* Princesses, I never said a word, or prevented a step, or advised one, that I am not prepared to avow. This was my language through the whole of the mother's business, and I always desired Whitbread to act for me accordingly. He uniformly *avoided* this, I believe, partly from thinking it better for me, partly from a monopolising spirit; and I have been much injured by the air of intriguing and playing in the background which it gives me. I have been much better pleased to appear *this* time in the front of the battle.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"I am going to set *Peter Plymley* on them.* Now is his time. I only fear he may be lazy. But I mean to get Princess Charlotte to ask it if I fail; and that, I *know*, will do."

Lord Grey, in the following letter, in which he explains his reasons for making the Duke of Sussex give

* Sydney Smith.

up his motion, gives a very incorrect account of his own speech, which was excellent:*

FROM LORD GREY.

"PORTMAN SQUARE, *Tuesday, July* 26, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I arrived early yesterday morning, and soon found that nothing was to be done; our friends either timid, much disinclined, or strongly against. Amongst the last particularly Lauderdale and Lord Spencer. Lord Grenville had been written to: answered that he would not come, or if he did, it would only be to deprecate so improper a discussion. Rosslyn, on whose opinion I depended most, was convinced that nothing good was to be hoped from the motion, and much mischief to be apprehended. The case, too, in appearance at least, was much altered. The papers announced the Princess's daily rides in Windsor Park. On Saturday she had come to town to see her mother. Miss Mercer was actually at Cranbourne. The certificate of the physicians which recommended the sea in the *autumn*, it was publicly announced, was to be complied with. The Bishop was prepared with statements of the Prince's kindness to his daughter, and of *des scènes larmoyantes* between them, quite touching. In short, he was ready to say anything, and the Duke of York to support him. *Above all*, the Duke of Sussex was preparing to go into a full statement of the case, private letters and all, in a way that I think would have been fatal, particularly on the point on which I

* On the motion of the Duke of Sussex, that the order for summoning the Lords, on the affairs of the Princess Charlotte, be discharged. —Hansard, p. 835.

must confess that the Princess is vulnerable, and in which it is known *he* was the instigator; namely, the time and manner of breaking off her marriage. Under all these difficulties I think I could have had the best of the argument, but I should have nobody in reserve to support me; and to do justice to the case, I must have betrayed an intimate acquaintance with all the transactions from the beginning, which, if they had known how to use it, would of itself have furnished a new charge against the Princess, and particularly against Miss Knight; and the Chancellor was not a man to overlook such an advantage.

"Under all these circumstances I could not doubt that the best thing was to get the Duke of Sussex to put off the motion, giving as his reason the appearance of the situation,—of the Princess Charlotte being better, his hope that it would become what it ought to be, and his desire not to risk that hope, while it could exist, by any proceeding on his part which might produce irritation. This he did very well—and answered by Liverpool very moderately, with the exception of a passage at the end about the Prince's parental attention. Of this I took notice; said we had nothing to do in that House with the sovereign, but with his advisers, which they avowed themselves to be on this subject, and that without going into a discussion which I thought it best, under all circumstances, to avoid. I could only say that it would be difficult to convince me that the situation of the Princess Charlotte had been such as was compatible with what Lord Liverpool had said. With this I concluded, having introduced it by avowing myself as the adviser of the Duke of Sussex's withdrawing

the motion,—not from any feeling of its impropriety; on the contrary, that I felt strongly upon the subject, and knew that the public took a deep interest in it; not from admitting that such a subject was improper to be discussed, whatever might be said of the delicacy of interfering with private matters, when these were connected with an important public interest, and a sufficient case was made out that it was the right and duty of Parliament to interfere, and the education and treatment of the heir of the crown was emphatically a case of that description;—but because, from present appearances, I would hope that such interference might not be necessary, and that conciliation, whilst such a hope could be entertained, ought to be the object of everybody. All this I see Perry has omitted, and given an account that is quite provoking. However, I must acknowledge that I did not consider the thing well, for my head was confused with the eternal rattle and motion of the chaise for three days; but I am sure I said what I have related in substance. I felt uneasy about it afterwards, but Rosslyn assures me that I sufficiently supported both the Princess Charlotte and the Duke of Sussex. The Chancellor answered me. He looked fire and fury; but he *did* nothing, and only said that the proceedings in Parliament had had no effect on the Princess's treatment—an assertion which will perhaps tend rather to confirm than to rebut the opinion of which he seemed to be afraid.

"Upon the whole, and after a night's reflection, I am convinced that the best thing has been done under all the circumstances; that we have more advantage from public opinion now than we should have had after

a debate; and that if a future agitation of this question should be necessary, *I* shall come forward with more effect, from the disposition I have now shown to forbear. If all our friends had been as stout as Thanet, the case would have been different; but he is literally the only person I have seen whose feelings were up to the mark.

"The Prince's health I believe to be very bad. He certainly was very ill the beginning of last week: his nerves are not equal to the rejoicings for which so much money has been spent, and it is said he means to go out of town: the hooting, hissing, and abuse of the Queen (there was no form of reproach that did not assail her ears), which was more violent and alarming than ever, the other night in her way to Carlton House, have probably had their effect. It was so bad that the Prince ordered all his aides-de-camp to attend her chair home in the morning.

"I have just got your letter. It is, as this will have informed you, too late for any discussion, but the line of argument is exactly what *I* meant to have followed on the public part of the question, and which I pointed out, as far as in such a discussion it was possible to do so, in what I said last night.

"I shall go back on Thursday with all speed, as I left the poor boy very ill.

"Pray write to me, and tell me you are not very much mortified and disappointed by this lame and impotent conclusion; for I confess I rather feel like a fool in having taken such a journey, and made such an appearance at the end of it.

"Write to Howick, and do come and see us if you can.—Ever yours, GREY."

It may easily be supposed that, whatever might be pretended or promised, the Princess Charlotte's treatment continued as bad as before the scene at Connaught Place. The following from Lord Grey shows the information he had received, and which was fully confirmed by all that came to my knowledge:—

FROM LORD GREY.—(*Extract.*)

"*Saturday.*

"My dear Brougham,—I have not heard from Miss Mercer since I wrote to you. I believe I forgot to add to the list of cruelties in my last, that Princess Charlotte's allowance has not been paid since she left Warwick House, and that she has been obliged to sell part of her diamonds to pay tradesmen who were distressed for their money, and some pensions to poor people who have no other support. . . . . —Ever yours, Grey."

At the same time I received from Miss Mercer a letter, from which the following is an extract:—

. . . . . .

"I know of *no new grievances*, but all the old ones continue. What she complains most of is, that one of the ladies is obliged either to sleep in the room with her, or in the next with the door open, and that many of her letters have been kept back—all, excepting mine, are sent to be examined at Carlton House, and every parcel she gets is opened first, and rummaged by the ladies-in-waiting.—Yours sincerely."

The presents alluded to in the following letter from

the Princess Charlotte's most confidential friend, were what I had announced that my friend Prince Czartoryski wished to ask that he might hope she would condescend to accept. They consisted of Polish embellishments connected with different books of great value, and having inscriptions formed of small engraved stones of great rarity, which were according to our alphabet, and the inscriptions were read by that alphabet. I have no doubt that my friend Prince Czartoryski, and those of his suite—one of whom, Count Sierakowski, came to Brougham—entertained hopes of the young Princess receiving a favourable impression of their cause, in support of which I had lately prepared a tract in concurrence with them, and circulated very extensively, under the title of 'An Appeal to the Allies on behalf of Poland.' * It had been presented to the Princess Charlotte.

The following letter is from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

"*Sunday.*

"Many thanks for both your letters, which I should have answered immediately, but when I have nothing particular to say, I do not like to be too troublesome. You will be glad to hear that I have had a long letter from Lord G., and that he is better, but he does not say a word about coming to town. *La belle prisonnière* is fully aware of the necessity of being prudent and quiet, and your opinion has at all times so much weight with her, that I have no doubt she will follow your advice strictly in this instance. She is, however, very uneasy at the idea of her mother's re-

* An appeal to the Allies and the English Nation on behalf of Poland. London, 1814. Reviewed in the Edinburgh Review, No. XLIV., art. iii.

turn; for if it is occasioned by her letters and entreaties, she feels it will be a sad reward for this sacrifice to her interest, to find that all intercourse between them will be immediately put a stop to, and that her return is only to be greeted with fresh insults and mortifications. It really is a very painful and embarrassing situation; and should those letters be shown that you forwarded (which is more than likely), there will be no bounds, I am convinced, to the Regent's rage. She has been strictly questioned lately relative to her former communications with the Duke of Sussex, and if she authorised the step he took last year in Parliament. This, of course, she denied, further than its originating from their meeting at her mother's; and on the whole she got through the conference very well; but I hope these interrogations will not be renewed, as I think they are dangerous.

"I believe she has sent a message to explain what passed to the Duke of Sussex, by the Duke of Kent, which was very right, and I hope will not be misrepresented. I have told her of the attention of your Polish friends, with which I am sure she will be much flattered, but the music must come through the Dragons, if it comes at all; pray send the letter. I think the best way would be to forward the parcel at once to one of her ladies, who will name it to the Regent, and then she will get it immediately. I wish you were not so *perverse* and so *coquettish* about coming into Parliament. I give you no credit for either your ambition or your politics being on the decline. Have you heard of a quarrel between the Prince and the Chancellor about divorcing the Princess? It is said at Windsor that the Chancellor has

sent in his resignation in consequence.—Yours very sincerely, C. LINDSAY."

It might well be thought likely that objection would be made to the Princess Charlotte receiving these Polish presents without their passing through Carlton House, when, a few weeks before, Lady Jersey having sent her some, an order was given that the Princess should receive nothing from Lady Jersey, unless it was first sent to the Prince, and through him, if he pleased, to his daughter. Possibly this rigour might be defended; but what must be allowed to be wholly inexcusable, was the order that the Princess should herself desire Lady Jersey to send everything she might wish to give her to the Regent, and tell that falsehood of declaring that it was her *own* wish to have this course pursued.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte.

(Continued.)

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—HER CHARACTER, CAPACITY, AND PURSUITS—ANECDOTES—QUEEN CHARLOTTE AND THE PRINCESS CAROLINE—THE QUESTION OF THE PRINCESS CAROLINE GOING ABROAD—IMPRUDENCE OF THE STEP—LETTER OF REMONSTRANCE AGAINST IT—RECEPTION OF THE REMONSTRANCE—CARLTON HOUSE POLITICS — CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD GREY — CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF A QUEEN-CONSORT — JURY TRIAL IN SCOTLAND—THE PRINCE AND GOVERNMENT—PATRONAGE AT THE SCOTCH BAR—THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE AND HER HOUSEHOLD—DEPARTURE OF THE PRINCESS CAROLINE—THE PRESS ON HER AFFAIRS—POLICY OF THE 'TIMES.'

THE Princess Charlotte was a person of great abilities, tolerably well cultivated. She had her mother's quickness, but with more habitual reflection and more deliberate judgment; and she inherited her resolute courage and determination of character. Her temper was somewhat violent and irascible, and her preceptors had failed in taming it. When a mere child she was desired by one of them (I think the Bishop) to pause before she spoke when anything irritated her, and it was recommended that she should say the Lord's Prayer. It used to be said that she was some-

times heard to run over it with such haste as to make it unintelligible, in order to give her feelings vent. There can be no doubt that, with his extreme discretion and good temper, and the perfect affection prevailing between them, Prince Leopold succeeded in removing the only defect that was ever imputed to her. From her mother she inherited another great quality besides her courage—she was free from anything mean, or spiteful, or revengeful, in an extraordinary degree. She was entirely without affectation or pretence; she had no pride; her manners were natural and playful; her affections were warm and constant. Her attachment to her mother resisted all attempts which were made by art or violence (for both were used) to alter or lessen it. Their tastes were similar; both were fond of reading and of the arts, especially sculpture, in which the young Princess had considerable excellence. There was a story in circulation that she had formed an attachment; I believe it was put about by the Prince's friends, and those of the Prince of Orange, to account for her refusing him. It was quite groundless, the only colour for it being that she had frequently met at her mother's Captain Hesse, a very clever and spirited young man, afterwards killed in a duel at Paris; and she had been greatly struck with his manners and conversation, as every one was. It was one of the many calumnies against her mother circulated by Carlton House, that she had encouraged a flirtation with Hesse in order to defeat the Prince of Orange. Another of the calumnies charged the mother herself with a fancy for Hesse, he having been for some time in her household at Naples.

It was one of the great misfortunes of this admirable

and amiable young woman, that, besides the enmity of her father, she from her earliest years had to struggle with the hatred of the old Queen, which never ceased to annoy her, and certainly was communicated to several of the princesses, her daughters.

It was most unfortunate that, soon after the scene in July, and the prohibition of all attention, even the most ordinary courtesy, from the Allied sovereigns, the Princess of Wales, wearied out, as she said, by constant ill-treatment,—and debarred from all intercourse with her daughter more strictly in consequence of what had occurred,—resolved to go abroad, at first only intending to travel for a few months, but which she extended to several years. Her daughter was extremely averse to this plan; indeed the only difference I ever knew between them was upon this, and it amounted almost to a quarrel. She urged me to use my influence against it. She had no occasion to press me, for I, as well as Whitbread, regarded the step as full of danger. We remonstrated strongly against it. I addressed a letter to her, solemnly warning her of the risks she was to run. I said that as long as she and her daughter remained in this country, surrounded by their friends, and by English men and English women, and having our laws to protect them, I would answer for their safety with my head; but that it was altogether another thing if she went, as she intended, to Italy. Seeing she was persisting in her plan, I once more wrote to her:—

TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

"York, *July* 30, 1814.

"Madam,—I humbly presume to address your Royal Highness once more before your departure, in the hope

that my most earnest and anxious advice may be listened to, and may be the means of preventing incalculable mischief both to your Royal Highness and to the Princess Charlotte. Your Royal Highness is aware of the strong opinion which I have always held upon the subject of your departure from this country. It is now, I fear, too late to renew the discussion; but I should betray my duty most shamefully if I did not implore your Royal Highness to take especial care, even in appearance, to avoid any arrangements which may look like the forerunner of a long absence. I know your Royal Highness can only intend to pay a visit to the Continent, and make a tour there—anything else would indeed be full of danger; but the reports already so industriously spread of a permanent change of residence, and so eagerly caught at by your Royal Highness's enemies and those of the Princess Charlotte, clearly show the absolute necessity of avoiding whatever may tend to encourage such rumours. Depend upon it, Madam, there are many persons who now begin to see a chance of divorcing your Royal Highness from the Prince. I speak plainly, because it is necessary for your own safety and your daughter's succession to the crown that your Royal Highness should hear the truth, and look upon danger in the face. As long as you remain in this country I will answer for it that no plot can succeed against you. But if you are living abroad, and surrounded by the base spies and tools who will be always planted about you, ready to invent and to swear as they may be directed, who can pretend to say what may happen, especially after your absence shall have lessened the number and weakened the zeal of your friends?

Already symptoms of this kind appear wherever I go. Your journey is loudly disapproved of; and your adversaries reckon very confidently on your being speedily the object of much popular outcry. Think, I beseech you, Madam, of the situation of your Royal Highness should any new attempts be made, after time shall have been given, to stir up these feelings and turn the public voice against you. I will go no further. I declare I do not see how a proposition hostile to your Royal Highness's marriage could be resisted if you continued living abroad; for let it be remembered that, legally speaking, the succession will be endangered by such a residence; and they who now take good care not to prevent such a risk, will be very glad to avail themselves of its existence hereafter. Never let your Royal Highness forget that in England spies and false witnesses can do nothing; abroad, everything may be apprehended from them. Perhaps, Madam, I take a stronger view of this subject at the present moment from the circumstance of your Royal Highness's enemies being so active and so sanguine all of a sudden. You alone can frustrate their exertions and their expectations; and there is but one way of doing so—by making your stay short. Above all, Madam, do not flatter yourself that it will be time enough to return when you see steps taken against you. The blow will come without any warning, as soon as the public feeling is prepared for it: and when I speak of its involving your Royal Highness and the Princess Charlotte in destruction, I mean to say that it will deprive your Royal Highness of every kind of support, and make your daughter's succession more than doubtful. I entreat your excuse,

Madam, for the freedom with which I have presumed to speak. I am so entirely devoted to the service of your Royal Highness and the Princess Charlotte (which I deem the cause of the country), that I would willingly risk even the displeasure of both to serve either; and I assure you most solemnly that I am not by any means singular in my fears upon the present occasion. I would fain be furnished with some formal pledge from your Royal Highness that you merely go for a visit or a tour, in order that I may feel authorised to contradict the reports already in circulation. But such contradiction will be all in vain if your Royal Highness, before going, shall make such arrangements as are preparatory to a permanent absence.

"I have the honour to be, with profound respect, Madam, your Royal Highness's most devoted and dutiful servant, H. BROUGHAM."

At this time I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

"YORK, *July* 29, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your letter from London, and if you have by this time got the one I wrote to prevent you from coming to London, you will have perceived that I was clearly of opinion that the thing stood as well as possible, and that we ought to leave it there for the present, hanging the discussion over their heads till next session.

"As to your trip to London, it is no doubt a *bore*; and no one regrets it more than I do, having been the means of bringing you up. Yet I am clearly of opinion that your journey has done much good, both in *encouraging* and *disheartening*. Nothing short of it would have disconcerted the silly hopes the blind

buzzards of Carlton House persist in cherishing, fortified, unhappily, by the unaccountable conduct of some of our friends. I happen *to know* that they reckon on the party generally being half inclined towards them, because they are sure of L. being so. But the chief ground I rejoice for is, that the Princess Charlotte is supported and comforted, and that you have given a pledge and a proof never to be forgotten.

"Well,—this Canning-and-Ward movement is good! I suspect the latter looks to Staffordshire in the event of G. Leveson's peerage.—Believe me yours ever,

"H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *July* 31, 1814.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I send you the copy, or rather draft, of a letter which I have just sent to the Princess of Wales. It is a strong dose, but necessary. After making her absolutely furious for some time, it will do her a deal of good.

"I have before done my utmost as to this affair; but if anything else strikes you as possible, pray say so, and I'll do it.

"I go to-morrow to Seaton, and remain there till Saturday.—Ever sincerely yours, H. Brougham."

During the following months, from August till the end of the year, I wrote the following letters to Lord Grey, some before and others after my visit to Paris in September:—

TO EARL GREY.

"Durham, *August* 9, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I received yours at Seaton, and I hope you see the case *en noir*, though I own it

is rather alarming. However, I lost no time in making the most of it, and wrote immediately. All will be in vain now, but it may help to bring her back.

"I have got my answer to the letter I sent you a copy of. It is as follows—from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

"'The Princess got your letter this morning, and commands me to tell you that she is very much obliged to you for it. I have not seen it, but it really seems to me to have struck her very much. Although it may not make her change her determination of going abroad next Monday, it may induce her to hold herself in readiness to return upon any indication of inimical designs from hence. She has written to Canning to desire him to tell Lord Liverpool, that if she hears any alarming reports from England, her return shall be immediate. Your letter has not offended her in the least, and has produced a much better effect than one Whitbread wrote a few days ago, which made her very angry. But nothing can stop her. I never saw so fixed a determination. The only good circumstance is her keeping her apartments at Kensington, with some of her servants in them. I shall also live there every now and then.'

"The feeling in favour of Princess Charlotte is everywhere I go very strong, and against the Prince and Court. I am most anxious about her health. If that survives, she must soon carry all her own way.

"You have the circumstance of Canning and his friend G. Leveson being the *only* persons consulted by the Princess—they having revised, if not advised, the letter, and Canning having carried it to Lord Liverpool. All this (and the above letter from Lady Char-

lotte Lindsay confirming it) shows my former belief, which I some time ago stated to you in Portman Square, to be well founded—that they were selling her. You see the price is now paid. If they had given the same advice *we* did, she durst not have gone. But surely if ever a base and dirty piece of service was done by man, this is that service.—Ever yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August* 13, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I enclose in another cover a letter from the Princess of Wales to me, which she authorises me to communicate to Princess Charlotte, to contradict the reports and lies of the Prince Regent. Pray send it through Miss Mercer.

"I return your copy of the other letter, which does not strike me as so bad. Princess Charlotte has written strongly, as you say, to her, and she has sent a soothing and explanatory answer, pledging herself not to stay long away.

"I shall be with you at dinner on Tuesday, or at farthest in the evening.—Yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

In September 1814 there appeared a pamphlet, published by Ridgway, on the then important question of the constitutional character of the Queen-Consort. It was evidently written, if not by a lawyer, certainly by some one well versed in the constitutional history of our country, and with a very accurate knowledge of the important subject, which he discussed with great calmness and propriety. This pamphlet gave

me an opportunity, which I gladly seized, of writing a careful article in the 'Edinburgh Review.' Although the time had neither arrived, nor even been anticipated, when such a subject was to have practical application, yet such discussions are always useful, not only to inform, but to prepare men's minds for circumstances which recent events might in the course of time make of paramount importance.

The part of the inquiry on which I took the most pains, was that relating to the analogy attempted to be set up between the royal family and private families: it had been absurdly argued that the management of the members of the royal family was altogether the *private* concern of its head, and that it would be the height of indelicacy if anybody in any way interfered.

Between the family of a sovereign and the children of a subject there is nothing in common. The members of a royal, as compared with those of a private, family, are by law debarred from feelings common to humanity, and from all free action. They cannot fall in love without the consent of the Crown; they may be over head and ears in that passion, but it must remain a dead letter to them unless the sovereign in Council permits its indulgence. The King for a wife must choose some Protestant princess he has never seen; but this he must do for the sake of his people, and to secure a Protestant successor; and his heir comes into the world, not in the privacy of the domestic household, but in the presence of a crowd of the great officers of state. All the tender feelings engendered in the private family, all the closest relations of parent and child, must be disregarded as if they had no existence.

Such is the penalty of the exalted rank, and the sacrifice royalty must make in return for the very inadequate compensation of power and dignity.

The sovereign, as the executive branch of the Government, is also intrusted by the constitution with large discretionary powers in governing his family; but he is bound to exercise such powers not according to his own fancy, or for the gratification of his private feelings or individual caprices, but in such a manner as shall most conduce to the common weal. All the power he has, and every act he performs, is as *sovereign*, and not as a private person.

Applying this, which is the true constitutional doctrine, to the questions then agitating the public mind, in reference to the treatment the presumptive heiress of the crown had been receiving from her father and sovereign, and more especially as to any arrangement which should send her out of the country, I held invariably the same language, and upon it founded all my communications and advice to the Princess and her mother. On this subject also I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 20, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The pamphlet is called 'Some Inquiry into the Constitutional Character of Queen-Consort,' published by Ridgway. I have sent mine to Edinburgh, otherwise I should have enclosed it in covers. I have done a long article on the general subject, and especially to annihilate the doctrine of 'private matter,' 'family concern,' &c.* I make my

* Edinburgh Review, No. XLVI., Art. x.

approaches so gradually that it can give no offence; but the risks, constitutionally speaking, of the presumptive heiress surrounded by those next in succession—viz., Dukes of York and *Cumberland* (he having issue)—is pretty plainly put. I have desired the sheets to be sent up, and shall send you them.

"This arrangement for Adam is the most glaring job by far that has ever yet been done.* I must put you up to it; and although I am sure no man likes Adam better privately, or wishes him more to succeed in his plans, or thinks he has been worse used by the Prince, yet really I trust that our friends will not be deterred from doing their duty by such feelings as these.

"The introduction of jury trials is not merely proper but necessary in Scotland. I have seen a litigation of three or four years in Scotland, and then an appeal, lasting ten or twelve years in all, with scarcely the possibility of shortening it, and no great facility of deciding it rightly, all about a matter which in Westminster or Guildhall would have been finally decided in an hour or less. Lord Ellenborough decides 300 or 400 such every quarter in the City, and 160 or 200 at Westminster, besides doing all his *law* business in term. You will understand that I am alluding to cases of disputed facts, and perhaps conflicting evidence, which *never can* be well decided but by oral examination, and not almost in any case speedily, except in this way. Scotch practice decides them thus: A man in a tavern called a commissioner, takes the examinations at vast

* William Adam, referred to above, nephew of the architect's brother, noticed in vol. i. p. 39, born 1751, died 1839. In 1815 he was made a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland, with the view of establishing the English form of jury trial in civil causes; and in 1816 he was appointed Chief Commissioner of a separate court for trial by jury.

length; they are reported, and written, and printed, and argued on in written and printed papers for years, and then decided upon by a judge who probably never heard a witness examined in his life—certainly never heard any of those witnesses examined. Hence, too, law of evidence there is none, nor can be. The person examining is scarcely like a judge, and generally attended by attorneys only. But of this enough has been said. The Chancellor in 1807, when your bill was in the House, and when he substituted his own afterwards for it, was averse to forcing a trial by jury upon the Scotch courts, so left it to themselves.* They are averse to it, and have not taken a step towards it. Experience has since proved to him more and more the absolute necessity of its introduction, and also that they won't take it without compulsion.—Now for the job. It is self-evident that the proper way of doing is to make the *Court of Exchequer* try issues. When the last augmentation of salary was voted in 1810, I supported the proposition for giving the Barons an equal sum,—Archibald Hamilton and others opposing, because their office is a sinecure, or very nearly so, and they have as much pay as the other judges. I contended that the necessity of jury trial, and the fitness of making an English court (as it is entirely by its constitution), where already that trial prevails in revenue causes, the place of its introduction, was too obvious to leave it doubtful that such an arrangement must in the end take place. Indeed, I expressed doubts whether, by law, issues between common persons as well as the Crown cases might not there be tried *now;* for there is

* Referring to the Act by which, in 1808, the Court of Session, which consisted of fifteen judges, was separated into two Divisions.

an Act extending to that court a statute of Henry VIII., which gives the *Crown pre-audience* of all suits; which can have no meaning unless *other* suits were triable there besides those where the Crown is a party. However, it was clear that one page of an Act declaratory of this would be sufficient, and check the laziness of the Barons, who have wilfully prevented, in my opinion, all such causes from ever getting into their court.

"Is it not clear that the making those sinecure judges work, is of itself, independently of their court being the fit place, by far the best thing you can do? In truth, there are too many even of the common judges in Scotland; they sit three days a-week, and are up at twelve or one; and half the year is mere holiday by law, besides a month at Christmas. I speak of the Court of Session. As for the Exchequer, they can't possibly have a good fortnight's work in the year. Is it less than scandalous to increase the *numbers* of judges in such circumstances? I always thought, even in 1807, your bill objectionable by adding one judge. England had twelve and a Chancellor and Master of Rolls; Scotland has twenty, and it seemed quite absurd to add one. But the hard work of the Court of Session, and its arrears, from the size of the court and other bad arrangements, might then be urged against me. *Now*, when the new arrangement has brought down the whole arrears, and left half the court idle, surely the proposition of a new judge is monstrous.

"If Adam must be provided for, why not arrange with Norton (English baron), and let him retire and Adam succeed him? But to have a new court made under such circumstances is quite dreadful as a job. Indeed,

how Adam *can* be a fit judge in such matters, God only knows! The place may suit him, but that he can suit the place is impossible. It is twelve years since he even *saw* a *jury;* and before that he never was in jury practice at all. Is it conceivable that he should be up to the law of evidence or *nisi prius*, which *Erskine* will tell you *he* has forgotten, and every man must, by want of practice? To send him down to introduce a bad, bastard kind of law, is really too absurd. Yet I doubt not Lauderdale is ready for it, and has fifty arguments to support it. I wish you would communicate these objections to him from me. They seem to me decisive; and if they don't so strike the Scotch bar, it shall be no fault of mine, for I write to Jeffrey by this post.—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 25, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—In this and another cover I send the sheets of the article, which is execrably printed, but you will follow the argument; and it is likely to give pain, also to create discussion.

"I am clear Perry will do neither. He is a sad one, and I heartily wish the Algerines had him, and his wife were free. I perceive White has, with matchless impudence, advertised something Foxitish; and he who, down to last Sunday, had been abusing the party from highest to lowest, expects now to make money of them! As his newspapers are the very worst written in London, and the dullest as well as the most blackguard, I heartily regret such men as Coke being deceived by his flummery to patronise him. It will finish the little credit we still have among the popular

newspapers if we take up the worst and most venomous, after being too nice and moderate to patronise the respectable ones. Pray return the sheets. I leave this the 1st.—Yours ever, H. B.

"Sierakowski is not come; but a letter for a Count Durouski is arrived."

TO EARL GREY.

"BOROUGHBRIDGE, *October* 2, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I marvel to see my instructions as to the Prince obeyed even in quarters where it seemed impossible; *e. g.*, R. P. Knight (I suppose) on Northcote's 'Life of Reynolds,' and an article on Alison's 'Sermons.'* In short, there is a whole battery opened upon the large man, of every calibre, from hand-grenade up to 48-lb. shot. He will be agreeably surprised to meet with his *praises* where he the least can expect it.

"They write from Edinburgh that Adam's job is not so rank a one as was at first believed, but that he is to be made a Baron of Exchequer in the first place, and then a bill is to be passed to erect a new court, composed of judges from the others, with Adam at their head, and a salary of £4000. This presidency and salary is therefore the amount of the new patronage created, and the measure is still most objectionable on the same grounds, though in a less degree than if they had made so many new judges. It will be a court with clerks, criers, secretaries, train-bearers, and all the *et ceteras* of the worst kind of patronage—viz., judicial patronage. The Scotch bar is sufficiently en-

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxiii., p. 288 and 432.

slaved by patronage already, and this also tends to contaminate the English bar; for clearly the office is to be accessible to it. Any instance so barefaced, of a plan, a system, devised to suit an individual's convenience, never yet has appeared in this country. The real fact is, that Adam finds he can now get the Duke of Bedford to transfer the auditorship of his estates to his son, and he also knows that his own practice is come down to a mere nothing; therefore he gets a court erected where he may preside without an absolute rebellion of the bar, after having in vain attempted to find something for himself in London, where the profession never could have submitted to it. In fact, I question if he does not also look forward to a peerage; at all events, the Scotch already give out that he is to be the Prince's man for Scotland; which that virtuous nation thinks a good recommendation of a Chief Justice. Really it is too disgusting. But the Scotch bar, I think, will cry out; some of them, I know, will; and as to personal merits, as well as those of the scheme, these will undergo a severe scrutiny, I presume, in Parliament. H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 8, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The Prince has been down opening the session, looking very ill, and having had Halford with him in the morning. The speech is full of America, with pretences of pacific intention, exultation about Washington, and a queer sort of statement of a naval force having been sent to the St Lawrence *too late*. Rumours in abundance that Liverpool is going out, and Castlereagh to succeed, and Canning to

be brought back to the Admiralty, and Erskine to be Chancellor. But you will believe as much of this as you please. I never can credit any story which is built on the supposition of the Chancellor and Liverpool resigning; certain it is, that some movements towards a divorce have been in discussion, at least at Carlton House; and they have made so many blunders, and so often raised the Princess of Wales up when she was low, that I almost reckon upon their once more giving her a helping hand, now that she is lower than ever. They are not unlikely to show their teeth in some half measure.

"Meanwhile, some of our friends, eagerly catching at the rumours of change, hold that if he begins to turn out, he will end by changing them all; the moral of which is, that the party must remain quiet and be ready to be taken in! It seems incredible, but I assure you this is the language. Jekyll has been giving them hopes, I suppose, for he says that the Whigs have used the Prince shockingly ill, except two Lords, Lansdowne and Holland.

"I am sure the men I allude to can't be long taken in by such vain hopes; in which case they should not speak such language, as it damages the character of the party and alarms the stanch men.—Ever yours most truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 14, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am sure you will rejoice when I tell you that I have this morning, in the Court of Queen's Bench, given Ellenborough such a drubbing as he will not soon recover, and that it succeeded in

making him retract and behave as shabbily as he had at first been bullying. I was counsel for a man who had published a blasphemous book, and Lord Ellenborough made a clumsy attempt at mixing me up with the man and his opinions. I instantly fired into him, told him I understood his insinuation, that no man should dare utter such things without instant and public contradiction, and that I told him in the face of the court and the world that the insinuation was false (or utterly groundless, I forget the word). He was as meek as a lamb, and said he had used no insinuation, and tried to explain it away. But I would not allow him; and I again gave him the flat contradiction as loud as I could roar it out, appealing to the court and the bar, and saying that I should defend my character and my profession as long as I could utter. He knocked under, and I enjoyed the satisfaction of having the united voice of the bar loudly with me; and afterwards I concluded my speech with again recurring to it, and dealing out to Ellenborough and Garrow, as well as to the Saints, a good round thrashing, talked about their canting, their bawling out their faith, and their making godliness a great gain.

"It is fit you should know these matters, as the papers dare not publish all I said, and Perry and the enemy will of course misrepresent it. I may add that I previously warned Wilberforce that if the prosecution went on they must expect severe handling, and that the work in question (of which the author has been long dead) could only be circulated or known by such proceedings. They were aware of their danger, and now, I believe, blame themselves.

"I shall try to find an office cover and send you my notes of Carnot's conversations. I hope there may be still some chance of your coming up, and going over to see him and others at Christmas.—Yours ever,

"H. B.

"*P.S.*—I send a newspaper by this post, with a correct report of the case respecting legal privilege, in which Perry chose to mistake my speech so unbearably, making me abandon my client, and speak the reverse of what I did say. The case has made a great sensation.

"This report of my speech was corrected by me, at the request of many of the bar. Garrow did the same with his; but I am sure there are not two words in the whole changed."

TO EARL GREY.

"*November* 24, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have just time to ask whether you see any very great harm in starting a little conversation in the House of Commons regarding Princess Charlotte *apropos* of her money concerns, for mentioning which a fair ground exists? It can be done without committing her at all; indeed she can't be worse off than she is—without a shilling since July, except the Queen's charity, and with a dowager sleeping every night in the room, or in the next room, and the door open.

"I have seen Miss Mercer, and she is anxious at all events to have her friend impressed with the idea of the party not giving her up. Martin's question delighted her, though, God knows, it was little enough.

Government expect something to be said.* I must say, a more infamous conduct than Carlton House spreading such aspersions on Miss Mercer never was seen. I can bear witness to her entire fidelity and good conduct—nay, absolute boldness and self-devotion, as far as I have seen or known.

"I only object to her carrying her friendly zeal for the Princess beyond what is due to her own comfort—and for which, if she is not one day ill requited, Princess Charlotte is very different from her two worthy parents. But you know Miss Mercer, and can join in this eulogium. I am sure I owe you much gratitude for your hint about Ellenborough, though I was on my guard; accordingly, to-day I have been pouring out some more oil (of vitriol) in a case where I had burning ploughshares to walk over, and it answered perfectly.—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"*December* 2, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—Your letter would of course have stopt any measures respecting Princess Charlotte had any such formal proceedings been thought of. But Martin merely pursuing his question† could

* On the 11th of November, Mr H. Martin asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was his intention to submit to the House any plan for an establishment for her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales. The answer was that no commands from *his* Royal Highness had been received upon the subject.—Hansard's Debates, vol. xxix. p. 112.

† "Whether the sum allowed for the establishment of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, which had been fixed when she was ten years of age, had been augmented since that period?"

The answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the allowance had not been continued since the Princess had been taken into the family of her royal father.—Hansard's Debates, December 1, 1814, vol. xxix. p. 638.

do no harm; and what little passed last night did certainly good, so far as it went. It turns attention to the Princess Charlotte, and sets the ministers by the ears. It only took the turn of a money question, and shows, by the way, that she has the same establishment when she is nineteen that she had when only ten.

"The ministers are greatly damaged; and I should suppose if the Prince and you could agree about minor matters; he would be very glad to give you up all the measures, even economy and peace. One does not know, however, the effects of the vacation; and for one I care not. The letter you wrote to Miss Mercer quite satisfied her; indeed she seems to me very much to see things through your eyes. As for the Princess Charlotte, she may not so well like being quiet; but her good, and not what pleases in the mean time, should be consulted. I presume the observations you made did not apply to the *press*, and that comments in that quarter may be tried, though Perry is too bad. I have some curious things respecting the new Scotch Baron, who retains his Carlton House jobbing place!!—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"Cockpit, *December* 8, 1814.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I am much annoyed to hear of your having been taking laudanum, for it looks like a spasm. Pray say if it has prevented it.

"Romilly is, I hope, out of danger; but if so, it is by dint of bleeding, and that is no joke to a man of fifty-eight. We have had a terrible alarm about him. Baillie has no fear, unless there is a relapse; but that

would be fatal; he had one already. I always observe the best and ablest men die when attacked. If he had been a prince or princess, he would have recovered fifty times over of a worse illness. I thought you would like to hear this, so write it, though in much haste, at the Privy Council, where I have been speaking under a cough as bad as Romilly's was the day he was taken ill. These inflammations are going about. In haste, yours ever, H. B.

"The 'Courier' has made no play, but we must press moderately on such a topic. Perry is very different, now the Baron is gone off.*

"I think, in the gloss he gives, his job exceeds himself. The only fault of the Grenville Bill was its increasing judicial patronage; and in that point his is indeed like it, only much worse. It will run a fine gauntlet."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 9, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I write to say that *the movement* has answered perfectly.

"Propositions to pay all bills, debts, &c., have come to the Princess Charlotte, and Vansittart has as good as said she might have more money immediately, and as much as she needed. Miss Knight, through whom the information came to Miss Mercer, says there is no doubt of the cause of all this.

"When your letter to Miss Mercer came, disapproving of any measures in Parliament, though it was clear from the context, and still clearer from your letter to me, that you only meant *formal* measures on

* Mr Adam—see above, p. 262.

a great scale, yet it seemed to me that in case any mischief were done by the skirmish, it would be fair to you, and beneficial to Princess Charlotte, to show her your letter, or tell her the substance, and throw the blame on me.

"But we agreed, if all went right, to tell her nothing about the matter; and your yesterday's letters confirm this, as you plainly approve of what has been done; so now she knows nothing of it.

"What think you of the Carlton House report, that the Prince wants you *to go to Vienna*, and to recall Castlereagh? He will send *me*, as your secretary, no doubt. They say he is in love with Lord Grenville. Halford as good as confirmed this to me t'other day, and Cholmondelly states it broadly.

"For gossip take this, which is inimitable: Mrs Perceval is to be married forthwith (pension and all) to a colonel somebody, a handsome officer at Ealing, son of the parson there.* Romilly continues better. —Yours ever, H. B."

Unhappily all our remonstrances [against the Princess going abroad] proved vain; and what I had foretold happened, if not immediately, yet as soon as her enemies had collected proof enough in the market of perjury, when she lost her daughter. The steps were taken in less than three years after she went abroad, to prepare for proceeding against her as soon as she should lose her father-in-law also. But she was surrounded with spies from the first, and the Milan Commission was only sent to reduce these stories to a regular statement. It must be added that a great

* Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Carr, K.C.B.

facility to her going abroad had been afforded by the addition which the House of Commons made to her income, when the unjustifiable conduct of the Regent and the Queen towards her, on the arrival of the sovereigns in 1814, had excited universal indignation. Every attempt was made, by part, at least, of the ministers, to prevent her going abroad, but they failed.

We had a remarkable proof, or at least illustration, of the prevalence of opinion and feeling in our favour during the discussions of the summer 1814. One day, very early, when Whitbread and I were considering some point of the case, I had been complaining of the pertinacious antagonism of the 'Times' and some paper (possibly the 'Morning Post') devoted to *Carlton House*. The 'Times' had mingled occasional assertions of belief in her innocence, but on the subject of her treatment and that of Princess Charlotte had been strongly against us. Our conversation was interrupted that I might write a few lines to the Princess upon what we had been discussing; and while I was doing so, Whitbread looked at the papers which had just come in. "Heyday!" he cried; "what's the matter now? Here's the 'Times' turned right round, and all in the Princess's favour!" And so it certainly was, and so it continued to be, not only to the end of the controversy then going on, but ever after, and rendered us most essential service in the great struggle of 1820. Since that time it has apparently changed again,—at least in 1855, on the occasion of Denman's death, it published the most bitter abuse of the Queen, and expressed unbounded astonishment at the popular feeling in her favour, which its own exertions had so greatly assisted in exciting. At the trial in 1820,

we, the counsel, had communicated with the paper through Barnes, the chief editor, whom Denman and Williams had known well at Cambridge; and I one day begged them to ask him what the history was of the sudden change in 1814.

He said it was owing to the chief proprietor making inquiry, as he did regularly, about the state of the sale; and finding it was falling off in an alarming degree, he directed the other side to be taken. This might be an inference of Barnes, and not a fact stated on his knowledge; for I cannot say that he filled the same situation in 1814 which he did in 1820. He was also a malignant person, and might have had a quarrel at the time with Mr Walter, the chief proprietor. But the fact of the sudden change is unquestionable; and it could only arise from finding the former course to have been contrary to the general opinion and feeling. I had occasion many years after to appoint Barnes's brother to a place of emolument, which he had begged me to do. I received a letter saying I had made him my debtor for life. He paid off the debt by instalments of abuse—I won't say daily, but almost weekly. His usual threat during the Queen's trial was, "We'll write him down." When any one took a part against the Princess, or indeed when he had objections of any kind against a public man, we often saw him try this, but in no instance whatever did we observe that he succeeded.

The Princess of Wales, after paying a visit to her brother at the Court of Brunswick, went on to Italy, and established herself at Naples, where she proposed to pass the winter; and while there Lady Charlotte Lindsay received from her the following letter:—

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"NAPLES, *December* 15, 1814.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—It is a real misfortune to have too zealous friends in this world. I now just begin to feel a little quite not happy, which I mention once before in one of my letters, but tranquille, that I find I am again to be troubled with thousand fears and visions, but so much about Mr Brougham's letter. I enclosed to you my answer, and I have send also a diplicat through the channel of Messrs Coutts. By that methode Mr Brougham must have it very soon and safe—the *power* and *authority* to acte as he think the best and the most prudent for *Princess Charlotte and myself.*

"I beg of you to mention also that General *Matthews*, a great oposition person, is here with his brother, Lord Llandaff, Lord Sligo also. Ever English person are very civil and good humour with me; even the Holland have been so to me. The King and Queen are both very clever, and very good-natured indeed to me, and very fond of my society. I live entirely with them, and go to dinner alone with them constantly. There are many English, and much attached to the nation; their conduct are so perfect that they are quite adored by these people. The only misery I feel is, that I have never yet heard from Princess Charlotte. Mr St Leger saw her at Weymouth after his return to England. She was much better, but she never write once, so I write ever week. I wrote to Mr St Leger to mention this to Lord Liverpool, but I have not yet received any answer. I hope

in a month to see you. Now then by this time all my letters must have reached you, and pray answer soon. I think Whitbread could mention something about not receiving proper information from Princess Charlotte, if it should continue still the silence. The climate is beautiful, but no real society. The King and Queen by far the most agreeable in the country, which I enjoy much. My best love to Lady Glenbervie, and my Lord and Lady Charlotte Campbell, and take for yourself my best and good wishes, and believe me for ever yours, C. P."

The following letters relate to the kind efforts made by Lord Grey to procure a seat for me :—

TO EARL GREY.

"*January* 19, 1815.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have received a deputation from the Boro', and being very hard pressed to come forward, I refused in a decisive manner, though, of course, with civility. It would have been madness in the middle of term to stand a contest, even if I cared more for politics than I probably ever shall again, after all I have seen of their dirtiness.

"Meantime we have gained a great victory at Liverpool over Canning, Gladstone, & Co., and the property-tax.—Yours in haste, H. BROUGHAM."

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *Jan.* 19, 1815.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I reproach myself with my long silence, though I have had nothing to say that

could make my not writing of the least consequence to you.

"I have heard a good deal of the Prince's quarrels with his ministers; but I have reason to disbelieve that part of the account which states those differences to have arisen from his pressing them on the subject of the divorce. That this is a thing which he has much and constantly at heart, I cannot doubt; but however probable it may be that the old Princess's present situation and conduct may afford him the opportunity that he seeks, no such occasion has yet been found; nor is there, I believe, any other ground for such an apprehension than his conversations with the Princess Charlotte, which to me clearly indicate that he has some point to carry, for which he is preparing, partly by affected kindness, and partly by those attempts to alarm her fears.

"Much as I wish to see you in Parliament, it would, I confess, be rather on any other account than this.

. . . . . .

"If, however, anything is to be done, your presence is indeed most important, as I quite agree with you that any defence which it may be possible to make will not be well conducted without your assistance. Whether for this purpose only, with the present uncertainty of its coming on at all, it be worth your while to make any sacrifice to get a seat for the session, you alone can determine. Upon all other grounds I should think your return to the House of Commons of the greatest importance; and I wish to God it was in my power to assist in any arrangement

to procure you, not a temporary, but a permanent seat there.—Ever truly yours, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *January* 27, 1815.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am equally obliged for your kind and friendly recommendation of me, and vexed to find you have had a third attack. Of course, I declined the proposition. As for your manner of speaking; as if *you* had little more to do with politics, it is quite out of the question to entertain such thoughts. These spasms are, though painful, mere spasms, and will go off, and lead to nothing. You have thirty years good yet, of which twenty may be as active as you please and like. You are the only keystone that keeps things together; and I have the more especial interest in this matter because I really (under the sort of *interdict* or excommunication which the party generally lays on me) am compelled to consider you as my only ground or pretext for continuing personally connected with it, however much our principles may agree. Therefore my allegiance is gone, and I am a sort of outlaw or outcast the moment you are out of the question. This may plead my excuse for the anxiety I always feel when you talk of giving up political life.

"Being on this subject, pray do not imagine that I ever intended to insinuate to any one, least of all to *you*, a doubt as to Lauderdale's deserving your confidence. I only mentioned, as I had been desired, that he corresponds on Princess Charlotte's affairs with the Pavilion—a thing very credible, after the warm part he took last summer—and, indeed, no sort of charge

against him; nor was it meant that he should write what you told him, but only that if you spoke openly, as you naturally might, he must, *whether he would or not*, profit by what he heard. Even thus much I should not have told you, but for the delicacy of the situation. I assure you I have defended Lauderdale *times* and *ways* more than you are aware of; and I have saved him once and again from trouble, having the greatest liking for him, politics apart—in which it is scarcely possible for a Scotchman of the old school to go always straight. This brings me to the new job, but I won't plague you with it, as I find we never shall agree upon it—at least, *in degree*."

The following letter refers to Bonaparte's rapid and unopposed march from Cannes, where he had landed on the 1st of March; not only unopposed, but actually joined, when he passed through Grenoble, by the regiments stationed there:—

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *March* 10, 1815.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I am much obliged to you for your kind letter, though it contains very bad news. Knowing the universal disposition of the army in Bonaparte's favour, I was not surprised at his rapid success; but it seems strange that no movement against him, to knock him in the head, was attempted during the first three or four days. It seems to show that there was no one corps of 5000 men to be relied on. And now everything is over with the Bourbons, unless some random shot or other accident disposes of Bonaparte. Even were he to go in this way, I am clear

the army and republican party together would set up somebody—possibly the King of Rome—not so likely *now* the Duke of Orleans. Bonaparte himself must give the country some liberty and peace after taking Belgium. I don't think he will soon try Russian campaigns again, or shoot people in woods by torch-light. But the grand evil is that *we* shall have expensive armaments, unless we have sense enough to stand upon the defensive; and even then it will be a constant pretext for keeping up the establishments. I daresay this and the chance of the old Princess being destroyed (she can hardly be lost in the disturbance) will comfort the *great* man mightily.

"The corn-bill is of course forgotten by the mobs; and the farmers are in good heart at Bonaparte's getting back; but when I came here a week ago I found *clear proofs* that the bill had made even loyal Church-and-King folks Parliamentary reformers. *Lord Fitzwilliam's agents* distinctly say that any *Burdettite* would now turn out Sir Mark Sykes! This reminds me of a rumour that has reached me of Curran being brought forward by Burdett in Westminster. This was an idea of Holland House last summer; but if Burdett really gives in to it, his folly, in trusting to Curran's honesty, is if possible greater than the only other quality it can be ascribed to.—Ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

On the 6th of July occurred an event which gave me a shock as great as any I ever remember to have experienced—a shock caused not only by the horror of the attendant circumstances, but by the sudden loss to me of a warm friend with whom I had been for

years not only on most intimate terms, but with whom I had been recently, and almost to the hour of his unhappy end, engaged in daily intercourse and consultation upon subjects of the highest interest and importance. I certainly must have had some instinctive presentiment of what was going to happen, for a few days before the 6th of July I had written to Grey these words:—

"TEMPLE, *July* 2, 1815.

"If you see Whitbread or Lady Elizabeth, do, for God's sake, insist upon their immediately going away, *not* to Southhill, where he works, but anywhere else, and urge her to keep him *absolutely idle* for two months at least. I am very seriously alarmed about him, and he refuses to see any medical man."

It is impossible to enumerate the advantages which the Princess derived from Whitbread's steady support. His private character in every relation of life, whether as a relative, a connection, or a friend, was exemplary almost without a parallel. His great abilities, persevering industry, and long habits of business, and his uniform adhesion to his principles, the resolute independence with which on all occasions he declared them, his determined refusal to make any compromise for Court favour, or even for ordinary party-purposes, gained and retained for him the unabated confidence of the country, giving him a weight both in and out of Parliament such as very few men have ever possessed. Having embraced the Princess's cause, he stood manfully by her, and he was throughout my constant and most powerful colleague. It may be observed that he, as well as myself, were mainly influ-

enced by the extremes of injustice, cruelty, and fraud of which we considered the Princess to be the victim; and we considered it to be a case calling for the support of all who had the power of protecting her, and who hated oppression. It is in vain to say that other cases of oppression occur every day, were known to us, and yet we did not interfere. No doubt the high position of the parties influenced us, though neither of us had been slow to act in many obscurer cases. But we only devoted ourselves more to these high parties in the same way, and for the same reason, that the whole country took a lively interest in them. A young woman dying in childbed, and a man maltreating his wife and daughter, are daily occurrences; but the whole people were in real mourning at the Princess Charlotte's death, and were roused to exasperation at the persecution of the Queen. However, it is not to be denied that both Whitbread and I took a peculiar interest in the case of the Princess of Wales, from the strong sense which we both had of the bad public conduct of her husband, his abandonment of his principles, his desertion of his friends, and his giving himself up to his and their political enemies. All our most cherished principles were involved in an opposition to him which had become personal. In cases of disputed succession, no one can imagine the preference of large parties for one sovereign or one family to be founded on principle,—to say nothing of older times, when the wars of the two Roses, which divided the whole people of all ranks, rested upon nothing like a preference of the one family to the other for any reason of policy or national advantage, but purely and simply on the controversy about hereditary title. At

a much later period, passing over the seventeenth century, when there was a real difference of monarchical and republican principles, the controversy, which lasted the greater part of the eighteenth century, and led to all the excesses of factious violence and to two rebellions, turned on mere hereditary right—the preference of one family to another, as so entitled; and although the two families held different doctrines as to royal authority, there cannot be the least doubt that, with the vast majority of their partisans, the Jacobites and Hanoverians, the difference was on the grounds of mere *personal* feeling. Even with the more enlightened partisans, such as Dr Johnson, it was a kind of romantic attachment to the one family in preference to the other. I don't at all consider that, in the course which we pursued in the question between the oppressed individuals and the oppressor, we were taking a more personal view than had been done in the other instances I have referred to, even independent of the share which opposition to the Prince and his measures had in our motives.

Whitbread and I acted together cordially, occasionally to the discontent of some of the party: and this co-operation continued down to the eve of his lamented death, which cast a gloom over political society, such as I recollect no other example of. Dr Baillie was at that time attending me, and when the examination of the cause of his illness took place, upon my positively insisting that it should, I remember his saying how glad he was that it had been made. It was a slight ossification of the *dura mater*, which produced irritation of the brain, and Dr Baillie said he had escaped by his death a most painful existence, for he had an

instance of the same disease in his partner as a lecturer (Mr Cruikshanks), who had for some years led the most wretched life; the insanity in his case taking the turn of constant suspicion and fear; as believing that all he said was heard through the walls of his room. When the small space of the ossification was considered (the size of a sixpence), I asked if it might not have been removed by the trepan. Dr Baillie's answer was, we had no means of knowing exactly where it was situated. I mentioned the fact of Whitbread always referring to one particular spot as the seat of the pain of which he had for some months complained; but Dr Baillie said that, besides the above objection, trepanning would have been no cure. He mentioned a case of a patient of his who had an ossification of one leg, and as it was creeping upwards, so as inevitably to affect a vital part, amputation was deemed necessary, and was performed with perfect success, so that he was well in all respects for some little time; but then he began to cough, and this could not be stopped, or even allayed, and in a few months he died of pulmonary complaint, when it was found that the lungs were entirely ossified. "So you see, sir," Dr Baillie added, "though there is but one way into the world, there are many ways out of it."

FROM LORD GREY.

"PORTMAN SQUARE, *July* 9, 1815.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The enclosed letter is in answer to one which I wrote to Lord Darlington this morning, in consequence of having heard that there is a vacancy for Winchelsea. I did not like to say anything to you till I knew what prospect there was of

success, and I now send it in the hope that the interview which Lord Darlington proposes may take place, and that its result may be what I so earnestly wish. I should like to see you to-morrow if possible, that I may tell you exactly what I wrote to Lord Darlington. You will find me in Dover Street at eleven or twelve, but I cannot answer for myself later, as I am to attend poor Ponsonby's funeral, and do not know at what hour it is to take place.*—I am, my dear Brougham, ever most truly yours, GREY."

The result referred to came to pass as Lord Grey had wished, and I was shortly afterwards returned for Winchelsea.

TO EARL GREY.

"WALTON, *July* 10, 1815.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have this moment received your letter, and Lord Darlington's enclosed in it; and if I had been able, I should have come to town without delay to see and talk with you; but the truth is that this horrible affair has thrown me back more than I can describe, and the barely coming here (to pass a day with my fellow-invalid Ossulston†) has exhausted me so much that all to-morrow I know I shall be totally unfit to move, at any rate not till pretty late. On Tuesday I shall be in town certainly, unless I am much worse; and as you are likely to be in town on Wednesday, I can see you then.

* Right Honourable George Ponsonby, M.P. for Wicklow, second son to the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. His son George was in 1806 Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and died 8th July 1817.

† Afterwards Earl of Tankerville on his father's death, 10th December 1822.

"But I fear that I have said enough already to show you how unfit I am for active service; and though Baillie flatters me with the hope of rest and ease restoring me, I really can hardly bring myself to occupy a place which you might fill with so many abler to do its duties. I say nothing of the utter distaste for public life which naturally sits upon one at this moment, and which may possibly pass away, but I can't help feeling it and letting it influence me.

"At all events, I beseech you to let it clearly appear to Lord Darlington that your most kind intentions respecting me were wholly without my knowledge. This is the more necessary because I was consulted by the person to whom Lord Darlington had made the first proposal, and I strongly urged him to accept it, and prevailed upon him to delay one night giving his refusal.

"I scarcely need add any expression of my sincere sense of your friendship on this as on all occasions. The feeling is mutual, though, God knows, I have now but little power of showing it except in expressions.—Ever yours most faithfully, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *August* 2, 1815.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I enclose in this and another cover three letters from Sir S. Bentham's family, in France, to his brother Bentham here.* I suppose

* Sir Samuel Bentham, brother of Jeremy Bentham (born 1757, died 1831); see 'The Life of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Bentham, K.S.G., formerly Inspector-General of Naval Works, lately a Commissioner of his Majesty's Navy, with the distinct duty of Civil Architect and Engineer of the Navy. By his Widow.' 1862.

they are written by Lady Bentham, and as they profess to tell whatever they remarked, you may be amused with them, when you can find time and patience to read them; when you have done with them, you may enclose them to me at *Brougham, Penrith.*

"I have learnt since I came here that the Duke of Cumberland is going out as *Regent to Brunswick.*

"My German law is so rusty that I can't say whether the Prince Regent has a right to make this appointment or not. The late Duke was Regent only during the imbecility of his brother, but I am pretty confident he was chosen by the States; however, I shall learn the whole of the law as well as the fact from the Duke of Sussex before I leave town. It really seems a strange anomaly in our Government that the Crown should have any foreign patronage, to be bestowed on any person—*e.g.*, as in this instance on a peer of Parliament; and however much it may be sanctioned by precedent, it is clearly against the spirit of the constitution. I presume you have heard of young Orange's marriage with the Russian. He announced it by letter to the Prince Regent; so there's an end of the little Princess's annoyance from that quarter. Nash's estimate for the improvement at Brighton is £63,000. All praise is given to the Prussians, at Carlton House; and Lord Uxbridge is loudly maintained to have saved the day, as far as we were concerned!

"The accounts from France are quite dreadful, and the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, who were t'other day at Brocket Hall, gave, I understand, the most gloomy view of everything. As soon as I hear again

from Sierakowsky, I shall write. I am better in general health, but the local complaints continue. I hope Lady Grey and yourself are now quite well.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

"I shall leave this in a day or two, and proceed homeward by slow journeys. I think I am better, but still very far indeed from well."

All the summer (of 1815) I had been ill, I believe more from overwork than any actual disease; and for some weeks I felt very much inclined to give up law, politics, and everything, and to retire into the country and write books. I was ill enough to be quite indisposed to work—so much so, that I actually did not contribute a single article to the June number of the 'Edinburgh Review.' But a few weeks of rest and perfect quiet at Brougham, where I went early in August, restored me, and banished the fit of lowness, and low spirits, and despondency which had so afflicted me. While at Brougham I wrote several articles for the Review,—one upon a plan, suggested by Stephen, for establishing a registry of slaves, originally proposed by him, and adopted in the conquered islands; and afterwards, in 1815, proposed to be extended to the old settlements.* I also took much interest in the working of bees, more especially as regards the mathematical perfection of the structure of their cells, uniting strength with the greatest economy of materials, and satisfying every condition of a diffi-

* Article on "Reasons for Establishing a Registry of Slaves in the British Colonies; being a Report of a Committee of the African Institution."—Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXV., No. L., art. ii. p. 315.

cult geometrical problem. The speculations and investigations which this subject led me to pursue, did as much to cure me as the healthy air of Westmorland. I also wrote an article upon a pamphlet recently published in Paris, as a vindication of Carnot's conduct since July 1814. My article was, in fact, supplementary to the article I had before written upon Carnot's Memorial to Louis XVIII.*

While at Brougham I wrote as follows to Lord Grey :—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 30, 1815.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—When I last wrote to you, I forgot to mention one or two things which I learnt before I left town. I saw the Duke of Sussex, and heard, of course, all the family news. They are more at daggers-drawn than ever, the quarrel between the Queen and Prince being at its height. The story you saw in the 'Morning Chronicle' (of the Queen's letter being written under a solemn engagement that the Duchess of Cumberland should never come here, nor avail herself of the letter in any way except as a salve for her character abroad) is substantially correct, and there seems reason to suspect the Chancellor of lending himself to the Prince's scheme for getting over this engagement, by finding out that the marriage *must* be performed here. As for the regency, it seems there was an *abdication* in form by the reigning Duke of Brunswick in his brother's favour, and that the Prince, being left guardian to the infant, appoints

* Article on "Exposé de la Conduite Politique de M. le Lieutenant-Général Carnot, depuis le 1er. Juillet 1814:" Paris, 1815.—Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXV., art. viii. p. 442.

the Duke of Cumberland as his *locum tenens*. The family don't seem to quarrel with the law of this, but they all suspect it is a step towards making him Viceroy in Hanover and recalling the Duke of Cambridge, in which case they are prepared to be very angry, especially the Duke of Kent, who vows that, though he waived his claims in the latter's favour, nothing shall make him give up to the other. All the princesses take part with the Queen, who has, moreover, been grossly insulted by the young Duke of Mecklenburg. He wrote her a letter about his sister, such that she (Queen) does not show, though she does her answer. The latter I saw, and think it really about the best-written thing I ever read in my life—severe beyond measure, but admirable. It alludes to the young man's *insults*, and speaks of them as offered 'à mon age, à mon sexe, et à ma position'—so what the deuce he can have said, one is at a loss to guess. I think he must have charged her with drinking, at the very least. It don't call him 'Neveu,' but simply 'Monsieur.' Now, the notion among this worthy family seems to be, that the youth never would have written such a letter as it must have been, had he not been backed by the Duke of Cumberland, and that the letter must have been sure of the Prince's support; so this has put oil on the flame. I forgot to say that publication is loudly threatened, and the Queen's letter in High Dutch may be looked for, it being understood that the German public will be first appealed to by them. The Queen's case, on the other hand, consists rather of her own story than of any written documents; but her word will go far against her son's, though it would be nothing against any other person's.

They seem to think she will give authority to one of them to assert her case in the House of Lords. All this is such a mess, that I see plainly it *must* be made up.—Yours ever truly, H. BROUGHAM."

Before November I returned to London, and went through my winter work without much difficulty, and also the more severe labour of preparing for and working the repeal of the income-tax in Parliament. But my health suffered severely for this, as will be seen presently.

In October Lady Charlotte Lindsay had the following letter from the Princess of Wales:—

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Ce* 5 *Octobre* 1815.

"J'ai enfin cinq de vos lettres toutes à la fois, ma chère Lady Charlotte. Je suis justement sur le point pour m'embarquer à Gènes, pour me rendre en Sicile et dans les îles Ioniennes. Au mois de Février je me propose d'être de retour ici dans ma petite coquille. Je désire beaucoup d'éviter les empereurs et le couronnement, qui dit-on doit se faire à Milan au mois de Novembre. Vous serez bien étonnée d'apprendre que Lord A. Hamilton vient justement de quitter ma chambre. Il va se rendre à Florence, pour revoir son ancienne flamme, Lady Oxford. Ainsi va le monde! Lady John Campbell vient aussi d'arriver ici, et a eu l'imprudence de vouloir me rendre visite, ce que j'ai absolument refusé. La mort du cher Mr Whitbread m'a beaucoup étonné. Un homme si religieux et pieux finir par un tel catastrophe! Mais je me rapelle

un certain jour à Connaught House, Mr Brougham arriva bien vite chez moi, pour faire une lettre pour un bien grand personnage, parceque le bon Whitbread avait fait une confusion très forte, ce qui nous fit partir si tard pour Worthing. Je suis sûre que vous avez pensé aussi à ce jour plus d'une fois. Il est actuellement bien heureux que j'ai quitté cet *enfer*, car n'ayant plus d'amis si zélés au parlement, mes affaires y sont encore plus mal. Au lieu de me dire qu'au retour du Duc de Cumberland à Londres, il n'a rien fait à Connaught House que de conter toute sa histoire de l'Allemagne pendant mon dernier séjour dans cette ville ; mais un mensonge de plus ou de moins est de très peu de conséquence. Assurez Mr Brougham que je ne retourne jamais plus en Angleterre excepté quand le *Duc* ou le *Grand-duc* serait mort, et que *la jeune fille* me desire bien ardemment de me revoir ! Sans cela, jamais ! Ce que je commence à craindre c'est que de tels événements heureux ne pourraient arriver.

"J'ai eu aussi une des très longues lettres et fort stupides de M^me^. Beauclerc ; ayez la bonté d'y repondre, et de lui assurer que les Hollands et tous même pourraient donner de très bonnes nouvelles de ma santé et de mon contentement. J'apprends que Lady Glenbervie est beaucoup mieux en santé, ce que me fait bien plaisir d'avoir dans mon pouvoir de vous donner cette agréable nouvelle.—Au rest, croyez moi pour la vie votre plus sincère et affectionée amie, C. P.

"La famille royale n'a nullement pris égard à la mort de mon frère ; il n'y a que ma fille. La Princesse Sophie de Gloucester, j'aurais cru m'aurait écrit un mot par

bon cœur, et le duc son frère par politesse; mais ni l'un ni l'autre. Ainsi va le monde! Aussi, je suis bien resolu de ne jamais plus leur écrire ni même leur repondre, si jamais encore ils prennent fantaisie d'écrire. J'ai vu un soir à l'opéra à Como M. et Mme. Orde.* Ils restent tout l'hiver à Florence avec les Oxfords. Le Professeur Monchiti, médecin très celebre, et un homme très aimable pour la société, naturel et fort instruit sur toutes les differentes branches de sciences, m'accompagne dans mon voyage. J'ai demandé la permission au Gouvernement, et ils m'ont accordé pour six mois son absence. Un autre professeur, très instruit pour les arts et sciences, qui parle aussi toutes les langues comme le Français, est un homme fort aimable pour la société, et un certain Chevalier Monticelli, qui chante et peint à merveille, et fort gai et de bonne humeur, est aussi de la partie. Le dernier ressemble beaucoup par l'esprit et la figure à Mr John M'Adam, et le reste sont les personnes de ma famille. Je me fais un plaisir de vous donner un détail de tout mon voyage, qui sera curieux, instructif, et amusant en même temps. Tout le monde sont amis, et se connaissent bien sans la moindre jalousie l'un pour l'autre! C'est une chose bien rare, je crois, mais cependant notre voyage sera pour tant composé de tels messieurs. Ayez la bonté de m'écrire à Palermo, où je compte rester quelques jours."

* Mrs Scott, daughter of the Rev. James Scott, was sister of Jane-Elizabeth, wife of Edward, 5th Earl of Oxford.

CHAPTER XV.

THE INCOME-TAX—STATE OF FRANCE AFTER THE WAR—NECESSITY FOR RETRENCHMENT AT HOME—STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INCOME-TAX—THE VICTORY—POLICY OF DEBATES ON PETITIONS—COURT POLITICS—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—LORD LANSDOWNE—MOTION FOR ADDRESS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION—ILL HEALTH—DR BAILLIE—INSTANCES OF HIS SAGACITY—RELAXATION ABROAD—GENEVA AND PARIS—ELECTION OF CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES—GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES IN FRANCE—THE CHANCES OF THE BOURBONS—COUNT FLAHAULT—MADAME DE STAËL—THE SUFFERERS FROM POLITICAL PROSECUTIONS—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE—DEATH OF ROMILLY—DEATH OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE—SIR PHILIP FRANCIS—BURDETT—ROMILLY—POLITICAL DISTURBANCES—THE "PETERLOO MASSACRE"—DESIGNS OF THE GOVERNMENT—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

FOR some time in the end of 1815 and the beginning of 1816, I had much discussion and correspondence with Lord Grey on the subject of the income-tax, to the continuance of which he expressed the strongest objections, because, as being purely a war impost, he was of opinion, in which I entirely concurred, that it ought to be given up as soon as was possible after the war ended.

As I fully entered into all Lord Grey's objections, I took the earliest opportunity, after I re-entered Par-

liament, to organise a movement for its immediate repeal, by getting up such an opposition to the proposed continuance in whole or in part of the tax, which Vansittart had announced, as would insure its abolition.

It will be shown presently how we fought the battle, and how we gained the victory. Meantime I wrote to Lord Grey as follows:—

TO EARL GREY.

"*Dec.* 5, 1815.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have had so little worth writing about of late that I did not trouble you with letters; nor, indeed, is there much more now to say. I think it material to remark, that these vile proceedings in France, both in the way of political and religious reaction, are producing, as far as I can observe, one salutary effect,—they are disgusting even those who used to be fondest of arbitrary and counter-revolutionary measures. A great disposition also exists in all classes to sneer and carp at the Treaty. Its complicacy and manifest tendency to sow the seeds of new wars are extremely apparent; and men, one should think, are at last disposed to have a little quiet. Whether they are or not, however, it seems plain that we should drive at retrenchment, reductions, and repeals of taxes, as the one thing needful. Until the peace establishment is brought as low as it can be, the country can never have a chance with the Crown, nor indeed with the tax-gatherer. We never seem nowadays to consider whether such and such an item of expenditure *can be afforded;* all that is asked is, Shall we be the better for the article? forgetting that there is a pre-

vious question, Have we wherewithal to pay for it? Now in wars some pretext may be drawn from the urgent necessity of the crisis for such an improvident way of going on; in peace it is madness. I have sent a plain discussion of this matter, with statements of our almost desperate financial situation, to the 'Edinburgh Review,' and hope it may be in time to appear in this number, and call people's attention a little towards so vital an interest.

"By the way, I dined in company with Erskine t'other day. He talks of *we* and *us* as if nothing had happened, and says, 'We must drive at retrenchments, that is our game—off with the property-tax,' and so forth. The Princess Charlotte is to be kept at Weymouth till after her birthday, but I hear a report of the Duchess of Kent's apartments at Kensington being prepared for her. The family quarrel is at its height, and the obstinacy of the Queen unaccountable, except, in my opinion, on the supposition of her having some understanding with the Prince, who is said to have exceeded himself in the falsehood of his conduct to all the parties. The accounts of the Princess of Wales are worse and worse: she embarked on the 17th of November for Palermo, *Courier* and all—Captain Briggs volunteered taking her; and if they have evidence against her, I should think he may bring her home, and not to Palermo. If they have not, the voyage may furnish it. On her daughter's account I hope she may not be got rid of, and it may be said that bad treatment drove her to it originally. My opinion is, that they will be afraid to touch her—at least until they have evidence of *English witnesses;* for no Italians would be believed; but the voyage may supply this

defect in their case. Of course I should not wish to be quoted on this subject. I dined on Saturday at Lady Grey's, and on Sunday in Dover Street. Lady Elizabeth was both days much better. I had seen her before twice, and she was affected beyond measure, especially the first time—she hardly seemed to know what she was saying. William came to town, and there had been an alarm of the fever at Cambridge, my brother and others having been very ill. This rather roused her, and made her think of what was going on. But while she continues in Dover Street, she never will be *much* better.—Believe me ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *December* 16, 1815.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have to thank you for two letters received since I last wrote. I was just going to write to you when your last arrived, and that which ought to have accelerated my answer in fact retarded it. It is a terrible question that you have put to me about going to town. My convenience would require that I should remain here till very late, if not the whole year: Lady Grey's health—which has not been quite so good lately—that she should have as much time as possible to recruit before she goes to be a chaperon in London. Public duty I feel that I have none to call me away; in that view I have a complete right to my discharge, not only from the treatment I have experienced, but from the absolute certainty that no exertion or sacrifice that I can make will be of the slightest use. But to myself I owe something, and to my friends much more; and if they think that any-

thing is necessary in point of consistency and honour to the vindication of the principles which we have supported, and as a record against the abominations that are going on, I feel that I ought to be at their command. I was in hopes that if I was in London in time for the discussion of the treaties, which I think could not by any means be forced on sooner than the end of February, it would be enough. But if it is thought material that I should be with you before the meeting of Parliament, I will endeavour to get over the real obstacles which there are to my leaving this place so soon, and to be ready for any consultations in which you may wish me to take a part by the 20th of next month. Only give me as much time as you can. I have said the same thing to Tierney and Holland, who have pressed my coming. I think that in all probability the Address will be such, and purposely framed so, as to require some amendment on our part; but it appears to me desirable to avoid a discussion of the treaties till they are formally before Parliament.

"God knows, they afford matter enough for a separate debate; and it is in general inexpedient, except as far as a general indication of one's opinions, to anticipate such discussions amongst the general topics of an address, in which the ministers always have an advantage. I think, therefore, that we should confine ourselves to a reserve of any positive declaration of our opinions till fully informed, and to some strong recommendation of economy and retrenchment.

"These, you say rightly, are the subjects upon which, if on any, the public may be brought to take an interest; and I am very glad to hear that you have sent an

article of this character to the 'Edinburgh Review.' I have been regretting that a fire has not been already opened, and steadily kept up from this battery, the only one from which our artillery can be expected to produce any real effect. Our drift ought to be to connect as much as possible the questions arising out of the treaties with questions of this description. Of the execrable principle of these treaties, and the scandalous fraud by which the country has been led on to support measures the real object of which has not only been concealed but denied—the public will take no heed, if they can entertain a hope of a continuance of peace; and if not, of a diminution of their burdens—at least that they will not be augmented. But if the people can be made to understand that our triumphs have produced no security, that we must support a ruinous establishment in peace to maintain our guaranty of the Bourbons—with the risk of a new war and all its consequences if the French should again rise against them —I think it still possible that something may be done. This position, therefore, ought to be taken, and approaches prepared for the attacks which must be made in both Houses of Parliament. What I hear in the few opportunities I have of learning anything, confirms the opinion which your letters convey, that the treaties are not popular. Even the 'Courier' can hardly raise a treble note of exultation. Here, as in other parts of the country, the distress is extreme, and the greatest impatience is expressed for the meeting of Parliament, in the hopes that Lord Buckingham's *something* may be done; and if nothing is then heard but complimentary addresses, and congratulations on

successes and treaties which afford no real relief, the discontent which is now only heard in murmurs may assume a more active, and, I would fain hope, a more useful character. You have said nothing of your opinion of Ney's plea on the capitulation. I thought at first that it was subject to some doubt, but a doubt could with propriety and justice be decided only in his favour. Since that I have formed a clearer opinion upon it; and the evidence of Davoust and Guilleminet, given under circumstances of such peril to themselves—and capable of contradiction, if it could have been contradicted, by other persons equally parties to the convention—seems to me quite conclusive. For Ney himself I can feel no respect after his repeated changes and desertions, though I may think, perhaps, his last desertion of Bonaparte more disgraceful than that for which he has suffered; but his conduct at his trial and execution must inspire, in spite of all such recollections, a strong interest in his favour, when connected with the manifest breach of faith and the injustice of which he has been the victim.

"Do you know anything of Carnot? I hope he will come here, though I suppose they would not let him remain. That Alien Act ought really now to be done away with; no necessity for it can be pleaded; and it can only exist as a most dangerous engine of power, liable always to the greatest temptations to abuse.

. . . . . .

"I feel deeply for poor Jack Townshend; he was quite wrapped up in his son; and from all I hear, the case, I fear, is utterly hopeless.

"What an unmerciful bore I have inflicted on you! —Ever yours, GREY."

The tactics which had defeated the Orders in Council were now employed with entire success to prevent the continuance of the income-tax after the termination of the war. The ministers had resolved to keep up one-half, or five per cent, with some slight modification of the former impost. But they saw the risk they ran, being quite certain that we should pursue the same course of debating petitions night after night, which had proved fatal to the Orders in Council. Their only chance lay in the utmost despatch being used. Accordingly, Vansittart, their Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a Tuesday in February 1816, gave notice that he should bring in the bill on Thursday. We immediately took the alarm; and in presenting a petition from one of the London parishes—I think Clerkenwell—I gave my notice that I should avail myself of all the forms of the House to obstruct a measure which there appeared a manifest design to hurry through. Folkestone (now Radnor), entirely agreeing with me in opposing the bill, strongly seconded my intimation—or, as Vansittart termed it, my threat. More petitions were thrown in next day, and Vansittart postponed his bill for a week. Had he ventured to bring it in as intended, and hurried on the second reading, it would almost certainly have been carried. But the week's delay proved decisive, and I really never doubted that the day was our own. For so many meetings, as I foresaw, were held, and so many petitions poured in, that the bill did not make its appearance for weeks, and the second reading only could take place on the 17th March. Above six weeks were thus spent almost entirely in receiving and discussing petitions against the tax. It was seen that

the campaign of 1812 against the Orders in Council was renewed, and under the same leaders, Baring and myself. The ministers at first pursued the same course of obstinate silence. The Opposition debated every petition, but in vain—all the ministers and all their supporters held their peace. No arguments, no statements of facts, no sarcasms, no taunts could rouse them. The feelings of the country, the anxiety of particular constituencies, were referred to, but not a word could be drawn from the ministers, and hardly from any of their supporters, except those locally connected with the petitions. But at length it was found that this silence did not prevent us from debating, that their plan had failed to stifle discussion, and that it had only given us all the debating, which had proved the more hurtful to the Government in the House, and still more prejudicial to them in the country. They were therefore forced into discussion; and then began a daily scene of unexampled interest, which lasted until the second reading of the bill. Each night, at a little after four, commenced the series of debates which lasted until past midnight. These were of infinite variety. Arguments urged by different speakers; instances of oppression and hardship recounted; anecdotes of local suffering and personal inconvenience; accounts of the remarkable incidents at different meetings; personal altercations, interspersed with more general matter,—all filled up the measure of the night's bill of fare; and all were so blended and varied, that no one perceived any hour thus spent to pass tediously away. Those not immediately concerned—peers, or persons belonging to neither House—flocked to the spectacle which each day presented. The in-

terest excited out of doors kept pace with that of the spectators indoors; and those who carried on these active operations showed a vigour and constancy of purpose, an unwearied readiness for the combat, which astonished while it animated all beholders. I recollect one or two incidents which may be given as a sample of what was daily or nightly taking place. It was in these debates that Castlereagh made his famous complaint of the "people's ignorant impatience of the relaxation of taxation," as he termed it, meaning *for* the relaxation. A very unusual and unexpected petition in favour of the tax was presented from some place, and excited a good deal of controversy as to its origin, and the quarters in which it had received support. I thought this dispute quite immaterial; and I applied to the petitioners the anecdote told by Fuller of a conversation at the table of James I., where he dined. The King, addressing Bishops Neale and Andrews, asked them if he had not the right to take the people's money when he wanted it, without all the forms of Parliament? Neale said, "God forbid you should not—for you are the breath of our nostrils." Whereupon he asked Andrews, who tried to evade the question; but when the King insisted on having an answer, he said, "Why, I think you may take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it." I will not say that, having forgotten the names of the two bishops, I may not have substituted two of opposite principles in our own day. But I certainly suggested that the prayer of the petition should be granted by passing a local Act, laying the tax upon the places whence the petition had proceeded.

I recollect a striking instance of the spirit with

which these debates were kept up to the end. After many weeks, and very late in the evening, we having been at it from four o'clock, a speaker in one of the many debates sat down after he had finished. The whole members upon one bench instantly rose and said, "Mr. Speaker." This drew loud cheers from all parts of the House at the unabated spirit and animation thus displayed.

I wrote as follows to Lord Grey respecting our tactics for the session and foreign matters:—.

TO EARL GREY.

"BROCKET HALL, *Friday.*

"DEAR LORD GREY,—As far as I can see, the party have a very clear line of conduct before them for this session.

"1. On foreign politics, to act as our army of observation, and seize the occasions of attack which may offer—of course, not courting popularity, but not avoiding it; for example, attacking the abomination of Ferdinand's conduct; the plan of eternal war and regular interference formed by the arrangement of the Treaty; the profligacy of the Allied sovereigns throughout; but keeping many opinions *under*, or at least only stating them by way of protest, and then allowing the matter to pass as necessary for peace;—I mean, that many things are quite wrong, and should be reprobated on principle, with reference to France; for instance, legitimacy and the Bourbon title, which yet, for English interests and to prevent war, may be very well passed over except with protest.

"2. On home politics, to make the great, and regular, and constant stand, and with the one rallying

word '*Retrenchment*,' for the sake of the property as well as the liberty of the country.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"Miss Mercer is at Middleton, and with B. Craven; but the idea there is that she is only drawing him on, and will not do that greatest of follies. They seem to think Flahault has a better chance, which would be excellent."

TO EARL GREY.

"*Thursday night.*

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As the propriety of seizing Alexandria, for the sake of preventing the French from getting Egypt, will probably be connected with the argument respecting the probability of their making any attempts on that country, it may be useful to consider that Talleyrand, in his Memoir upon New Colonies (written, I believe, in 1796, and printed in the 'Memoirs of the Institute' for 1802 or 1803), points out by various arguments the propriety of the Republic exerting itself in the colonial speculations, and of withdrawing from the West Indies, to push them elsewhere. He particularly insists upon Egypt in this point of view.

"It is clear, indeed, that Egypt as a colony would be quite inestimable to France. I have collected all the particulars relating to this in the second volume of my work on Colonies, page 333 and seq. But when that was written I had not seen Talleyrand's tract. Great additional weight is derived from thence to the opinion that France viewed Egypt as valuable, not from its subserviency to schemes of conquest against

the East Indies, but from its capacity of becoming an important settlement itself, and a substitute for the West Indies. I should think the question more safely argued on this ground, and more consistently with the just contempt formerly shown to the argument—'Not Malta only, but Egypt,' &c.—than upon the ground of danger to India.—Ever yours faithfully,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROCKET HALL, *Jan.* 9, 1816.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I suppose you may like to see Elgin's pamphlet; so Huskisson being here, I have asked him to frank it. Elgin *convicts* himself by the answer, and is a ruined man if he does not proceed at law against both Tweddel and the Review, especially the former.*

"Palmerston is here as well as Huskisson, but the former says little; from the latter I infer that we are to have ample field for sport about retrenchments, for he has been saying privately to Lady Melbourne, that 19 millions establishment won't do, it must be 24 or 25!! If I hear any further news you shall know, but, of course, won't mention it again.

"Pray give me a few lines to say how you are, and remember me to Lady Grey.

"I am trying to put Folkestone up to coming forward and co-operating cordially.† His feelings and principles are almost all with you, and now that Burdett is so much out of the field, he will be invaluable

* The controversy about the purchase of the "Elgin Marbles" was then raging. See article in Quarterly Review, vol. xiv. p. 513, headed by a list of documents relating to the dispute.

† Afterwards Lord Radnor.

from his character and abilities, if he can only muster up spirits enough to take a part. I shall remain for some time here or at Panshanger.—Yours ever truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"*January* 11, 1816.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I still, more than when I last wrote, feel the necessity of our not going too much into a *detail* of foreign, or rather French, affairs. To a certain extent, no doubt, they are English, as the army kept in France, and the stability of the peace arrangements. But why should we pass by or leave in the shade the property-tax, abuses, peace establishment, &c. &c., in order to involve ourselves in the questions about Ney, or Lavalette, or Murat's being shot? Some things, to be sure, are so clear and tempting that we can't resist, and of this class I take the proceedings of Ferdinand to be;—so much so, that I think it ought to be a substantive question; for we have both the argument and the country with us on it, and the court is committed by the blue ribbon against us, and hampered by their relations with Ferdinand, as well as their prejudices (as old as the American war) on colonial emancipation. My idea is to give an immediate notice of this, and to comprehend the slave-trade, the subject of Stephen's pamphlet, which he sent you, and I suppose you will soon receive. I shall let him know that it miscarried at first.

"The 5-per-cent property-tax is to be tried, unless the country cries out, which I guess it will by certain symptoms, differing a *little* from Baring in this.—Yours ever truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"*January* 22, 1816.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I was quite vexed to hear of this continued persecution of the complaint; but I gather from your letter that it is gone for the present, except the lassitude.

"I have a letter to-day from Sierakouski, from the prison, where he has been these ten days, suffering every sort of privation and annoyance. It is dated the 22d. He writes bitterly of the *legitime*, and with his wonted drollery, though he trusted his letter to the post. He don't say why he is confined—perhaps he does not know. His letter is full of 'Poland,' which is really very touching, considering his own personal injuries. They are getting more satisfied with Alexander, and hope some real good may be done.

"As for your letter to Wilson, it don't signify a straw. I am in the same scrape, having written to Sierakouski the only letter I ever sent him by the post. Luckily I did not sign it; but if published it will be known; and I wrote freely, though, I believe, only on Poland and the *Magnanime*.—Ever yours,

"H. Brougham."

TO EARL GREY.

"*March* 14, 1816.

"My dear Lord Grey,—My resolutions of daily writing to you have been quite frustrated by the heat of the campaign. It has been, and continues to be, even sharper than was expected. You have *no idea* of it from Perry, even if you could see to read his vile print, which beats my eyes. He gives all advantages to the enemy, and makes Castlereagh appear to

triumph, while he is lower than you can even fancy. The truth is, we have found that he has a *Tory* reporter as well as a Whig, and it is a mere chance that the truth is ever told. Nevertheless you will perceive, even from *him*, that the two last nights have been very decisive, especially last night, against the tax. We consider it as almost done for, but this can only be effected by the country backing us, and by our continuing daily to attack it. I had begun this letter intending to make it a long and full one, but now am called away to have a round with the Tax Board and the newly-discovered jobs, so must delay writing further till to-morrow.—Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"I obeyed your instructions as to Castlereagh t'other night, attacking him as personally as possible, and mean to have his Irish affairs brought up."

At length came the day when the decision should be given, after the debate on the second reading took place. But it speedily appeared manifest that there would be a decision without any debate; for that had been anticipated, and indeed had taken place over and over again. Even more than the usual number of petitions were poured in for some hours, many having been reserved for this day. But there was little or no debating upon them, all men being impatient for the division, the result of such long-continued labour and such lengthened excitement. All was silence and suspense, when, about eleven o'clock, Sir W. Curtis, one of the City members, moved up the House, carrying a huge petition, which he presented without a single remark, as the petition of the great meeting at the Egyptian Hall of bankers and merchants of Lon-

don, signed by 12,000 persons. No one could now be heard in so impatient a House. At last I rose, and merely read distinctly the words of the Act imposing the income-tax "for and during the continuance of the war, *and no longer.*" The shout which these three words raised I shall never forget. We divided immediately (18th March 1816), and threw out the bill by a majority of 37, which, in reference to the snuff known as "Hardham's 37," was called "Brougham's 37;" and I remember being represented in a caricature as offering a pinch of my 37 to the Regent.* Mr Wilberforce's ground of rejoicing was well received—that war and the income-tax were henceforth wedded together. But we have unhappily outlived this pleasing association.

In conducting their case the Government committed two capital errors, to which I can hardly say their defeat was owing, because, in the state of the country, perhaps nothing could have saved them; but these two errors they never would have committed under abler leadership. One was the allowing me to go on and not adhering to their notice of Thursday at all hazards; the other was the not debating for the first three or four days, which damaged them in the House and in the country, and encouraged to an extraordinary degree the petitions. Neither of these faults would have been made had the Duke of Wellington directed their movements, as he did upon a later occasion. On June 7th, 1820, he sat under the gallery, and manifestly directed the Government on the important day when the proceedings on the Queen were announced. As I commanded on the other side,

* On the motion "For the continuance" of the tax, the division was, —in favour, 201; against, 238.—Hansard, 451.

I had reason to know and to feel against whom I had to act. There were great difficulties in the way of both; but not the least error was committed by him, though I believe he was not quite prepared for the course which I suddenly took—that is, took without having previously communicated to any one but Denman. I have never come upon this part of the subject, any more than the rest of it, with the Duke. I always carefully avoided it, being quite convinced that, had his position in the Government been different, and his experience in political matters, especially Parliamentary, been greater, he would have prevented by his authority the whole of the disgraceful affair.

The method of proceedings by petition and debate is the most effectual possible, but is only applicable to particular cases. The subject must be of general interest; the people must be strongly excited; they must have leaders in Parliament of sufficient weight and experience, and firmly resolved to carry the measure or to defeat it; and for the most part it is much better suited to opposing than supporting a measure. It was therefore a matter of great regret to all leaders of the popular party that the new rule should be adopted, which at once made such proceedings impossible—the rule confining those who present petitions to a bare statement of the substance and the parties petitioning, without a word of remark, or even of explanation. I own that I agreed entirely with these regrets, and greatly blamed those who introduced the change. This was natural in one who had had such successful experience of the old system, and in such remarkable cases. It seemed that the people were deprived of a great security against hard measures, and even bad

rulers, by this substantial restriction on the great right of petition. But a consideration of the consequences which must follow in a reformed Parliament from unlimited discussion, has led me to doubt the soundness of my first opinion; and the events, or rather the talk without events, of recent sessions, has strengthened these doubts. I must, however, observe that the allowance of debate on petitions has a counteracting or compensating tendency not to be left out of view. Ellenborough strongly urged this upon my attention after the charges which I made at the Glasgow Congress against the House of Commons for the session spent in talk; and his letter very powerfully sets forth that side of the question. Possibly, without repealing the general rule, it might be relaxed on certain specified occasions.

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"LANCASTER, *Wednesday.*

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I have been prevented from writing to you for some time by a bad kind of accident which I had at Newcastle. I was overturned, the carriage tumbling twice head over heels (or rather wheels), and about a quarter of my skull laid bare by the glass.* I bled like a pig, which was probably advantageous; and a very skilful surgeon being procured, he sewed, and cut, and tied at me for about two hours, and then had me taken to a gentleman's in the neighbourhood, at whose house I had been dining. I was kept there a week; but from the bleeding and low regimen, and my good habit of body, I recovered without the smallest fever or sup-

* See above, p. 81.

puration, and have again joined the circuit, with only a large scar and some weakness. I mention these particulars to contradict two reports which were immediately raised—one that I had lost an eye, if not two; the other, that I was killed—both of which are unfounded. A third was rather diverting—viz., that *another man* (a very religious man, and an old lawyer) *had cut his throat at York.*

"I learn, from what seems like some authority, that some explosion has happened in Lady Douglas's family, by means of a man-servant. Pray let me know if there is any truth in it. From the way in which it reaches me, I think it deserves being inquired into.

"Pray tell Lord Glenbervie that I have had a most agreeable account of George Wilson. As I came here I stopt at home for a couple of days, where Templeman came on his return from Scotland. He had been with Wilson for a week, and reports him to be in excellent health and spirits, taking much exercise without fatigue, and that there is not the least foundation for the unpleasant accounts in town last June respecting him.*

"Remember me to Lord and Lady G.; and believe me ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"My address now is, '*Brougham, Penrith.*'"

The following very interesting letter, on the subject of her marriage, is from the Princess Charlotte to Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

* George Wilson, mentioned with affection by Romilly and other contemporaries, was a successful barrister, nearly twenty years before the date of this letter, but had to give up his profession for his health. From a statement in the 'Memoirs of Romilly' (vol. i. p. 434), he must have died soon after the date of the letter.

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"CRANBOURN LODGE, *March* 19, 1816.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY,—I hasten, with much pleasure, to thank you for the kind letter you have written to me, dated the 16th, on the occasion of my approaching marriage. You must allow me to call you (and as such to put you upon the footing of) an old friend. You may believe, therefore, that I was glad to receive your letter, and pleased with its contents.

"As you have known me long, you will believe me when I assure you that this has been a long-wished-for event by me, that it is really a union of inclination, and which makes me very happy.

"In two points of view I am *quite convinced* that it is the best possible thing for *this country* (a subject I am ever *alive to*): first, in respect to its securing my private and domestic comfort; secondly, as to the Prince of Coburg's relations and connections abroad, and his situation of a younger brother. Painful as the fact has been, yet I confess the retrospect does but enhance the *value* of the *present good* obtained, and makes me the more grateful for it, and *thankful* for the *escape* I made. I can with truth say that not one hour of my life have I ever regretted the line I took on a former occasion.

"Nothing you can utter in the Prince of Coburg's praise is too much; . . . indeed, he deserves all possible praise and admiration; for his is *not an easy task*, situation, or game to play. The more he is known, the more, I am sure, this country will be inclined to confide much in him, as he has a *head*, a

heart, and abilities of no common sort—indeed, I may add, that fall to few mortals.

"His attachment is certainly entirely personal towards me, and not from my situation. It began at a time when he felt he had little or no chance. I am therefore most singularly fortunate—certainly no princess or prince before me ever having been able, I believe, to form a matrimonial alliance from inclination.

"I am sure you will have been delighted, as I was, at the *manner* in which the question, &c., went off in the House; and as I feel *Opposition* acted handsomely, and made their allowance too liberal, it will be my anxious wish and study to prove myself worthy, and grateful to my country and its representatives for all they have *said* and done for me, by setting a *moral* and *well-principled* example before them—an example they have long stood in need of; the importance of which no one is better aware than yourself.

"You did quite right introducing your brother and Miss Hayman to the . . .

"I shall not delay writing to that excellent creature, whose letter is worth anything to me, from its natural and undisguised feelings of warm and real affectionate interest about me.

"I trust you have been quite well. Pray remember me to all those of your family to whom I am personally known, and assure them of my continued regard. As to yourself, dear Lady Charlotte Lindsay, believe me ever to be yours most sincerely and truly,

"CHARLOTTE."

Before I left London I received the following from Lord Lansdowne:—

FROM THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE. (*Private.*)

BOWOOD, *July* 28, 1817.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am obliged to you for your letter dated York, and for the frankness with which you have explained yourself to me on the present state of parties and opinions in Parliament, or rather in the House of Commons, to which your observations more particularly apply.

"I cannot have the least hesitation in communicating to you with the same openness and freedom what occurs to me on the same subject, relying that you will not attribute my dwelling upon it at so much length as I fear I must, to any importance I myself attach to that opinion, but to the supposition you have stated, that it might possibly have some influence with others.

"The circumstances you complain of, as well as much that is complained of by others, appear to me to arise not so much out of any particular or personal views entertained by individuals, as out of the state of the party (if party it can be called) generally termed Opposition. There are two modes in which a Parliamentary opposition may be conducted: one, that of a constant and confidential intercourse between persons closely united in opinion, by means of which not only the measures to be pursued, but the tone and spirit in which they are to be pursued, is previously considered and determined; this necessarily implies either the existence of an efficient leader, or of some equally effectual mode by which such a communication as I have described can be regularly maintained; the other, that

of allowing all the persons or small parties of persons opposed to, or unconnected with, the Administration, to pursue their own separate causes, and indulge their own tastes and tempers—which must occasionally differ very much—without much attempt at securing a general co-operation except on a few great questions, when the interest excited or the prospect of success serves as a rallying-point of itself. The last, whatever it was originally, has for some time (without stopping to inquire from what cause it has proceeded) been *de facto* the state of the present Opposition. It is certainly the least pleasant to individuals, because it leads unavoidably to such misunderstandings—or, to describe it more justly, such want of understandings—as your letter more particularly refers to; and it must prove less formidable to the Administration in its result, although I am not at all sure that it may not, from its uncertainty, be more vexatious to them in its details. But the question to consider is, whether there is a choice between the two systems; for I confess I do not perceive where that control or direction which is necessary to govern the motions of a party, as of any other body of men is to be lodged, so as to obtain the general and willing acquiescence of all its members. I wish that you, who are better acquainted with the scene and the actors, could tell me that *you* do.

"Of what passed in debate towards the end of the session I can only judge from the impressions of others. Of the proceedings on C. Wynne's bill, to which I felt myself some objections, I am quite uninformed, except having collected from the newspapers that there was much difference of opinion about it. The address, indeed, you moved, was, from the nature of the proceed-

ing, a question of greater delicacy.* Of its merits as a composition I can say nothing, since I looked for it in every newspaper at the time without being able to find it; and although I heard some expressions quoted as objectionable, which did appear so to me, they could not enable me to judge of the whole. But I confess it has always appeared to me that if any Parliamentary proceeding required to be adopted with more consideration than another, it is that sort of manifesto or state-paper record of opinions on a variety of great and important subjects. However well composed, it seldom, from the period of the session at which it is moved, produces any effect, except as far as it affords room for attack to hostile newspapers; and although it may only represent the sentiments of an individual, yet as that object could be more effectually announced by a pamphlet or a published speech, it has always been supposed to represent those of a party, which, not to speak of the difficulty of collecting and stating them accurately, seldom benefits by such a declaration, unless strongly called for. Burke's, in '84—an admirable paper of this description—was, I have understood, not thought very expedient by those most competent to judge, though it had been much considered beforehand.

. . . . . .

—Yours most truly, LANSDOWNE."

After the session was over, instead of as usual joining the circuit, I resolved to give myself a holiday, as I had for some time been suffering from the effects of a severe attack of pleurisy, followed by a return of

* Motion for an address to the Prince Regent on the state of the nation, 11th June 1817.

my illness of last year. I was throughout attended by Dr Baillie, whose kindness as a friend, and marvellous skill and sagacity as a physician, were unequalled.

I may here mention an instance or two of the latter qualities.

My complaint, independent of the pleurisy, had all the appearance of an organic affection, being a great and irregular pulsation of the aorta, which every foreign doctor whom I had consulted when abroad at once pronounced aneurism. Dr Baillie was clear that it was nothing of the kind, and we tried it in every way. I, maintaining it was organic, on one occasion said I should run quickly up-stairs—"Mind," he said, "I don't advise you to run up-stairs." However, I did; and came down safe, which he said I never should have done if it had been aneurism. "But," I said, "you were not at all certain, for you advised me not to try it." He said, "Recollect I have often told you that we cannot look through you as if you were made of glass. But I had every reason, from the symptoms, to believe it was not organic, and was like some other cases I have known." He, however, considered my malady resembled that of Henry Thornton, not as to the irregular action, but as to cough and other symptoms; and he mentioned Pennington having differed with them all on Henry Thornton's case, and proving to be in the right. The case terminated fatally; and when Pennington, who had gained great credit on that occasion, was consulted in *my* case, he at once pronounced it to be pulmonary affection. But Dr Baillie said he was positive it was no such thing; and *he* proved right. Thus one sees the difference between a first-rate man and an

inferior one, however able. Pennington was led away by one instance; Baillie relied on his general experience. I have known other cases in which he pronounced the most confident opinion against practitioners who confined themselves to one class of diseases, and in that class supreme, and yielded to by all others, and in which Baillie's holding out against them was reckoned extreme presumption.

But of all Baillie's guesses, as he used to call his carefully-formed opinions, the most remarkable was in the case of Horner, as was proved after his death in February 1817. He had been ill for some years, and many physicians, both in London and Edinburgh, and in Paris also, had been consulted, and from all their opinions Baillie at once and very confidently differed. When he came to propose his own, he confessed the extreme uncertainty in which so obscure and difficult a case had left him, after repeated examination of all the symptoms. However, he conjectured that it was one or other of two diseases, so rare that he had only seen a case or two of the one, and of the other he had only one example in his museum of morbid anatomy; and he said that unhappily there was no cure for either. When Vacca at Pisa (where Horner died) opened the body, it was found that *both* the diseases existed. I think the one was an enlargement of the air-holes of the lungs, the other an hepatisation—that is, their conversion into a liver-like substance.*

Mackintosh used to say that this melancholy case reminded him of the ludicrous one in 'Don Quixote,' of Sancho's uncle having such skill in flavours as to be able to conjecture that the wine in a cask tasted of

* See Leonard Horner's 'Life of Francis Horner,' vol. ii. p. 381, 434.

leather and iron; and that a key tied to a thong was found at the bottom when they came to empty the barrel. I must add as to Baillie, that Sir Henry Halford is most unfortunate in his quotation from Tacitus, as he is most unfair in the opinion he pronounces, that Baillie is a good, but not a great, man. "Bonum virum facilè crederes, magnum, libenter," applies to Agricola's *countenance* merely.*

Having, as I said, resolved to give myself a holiday, I determined to spend the autumn abroad. After proceeding to Switzerland, I went on to Florence. When at Geneva I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"GENEVA, *August* 27, 1817.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I wrote some weeks ago to Lord Rosslyn, and begged him to communicate my letter to you; not that it contained anything worth reading, but because I had no further or better remarks to offer you. Since that nothing else has occurred. The multitudes of English who continue to flock here exceed belief. I have had quite enough of this odious country, and am going on to Milan to-morrow. Before setting out there is a matter I wished to canvass with you (as I did with Lord Rosslyn) before I left town, and I missed you once or twice when I called for this purpose. It relates to Scarlett, in whom I cannot help feeling a peculiar interest, from a long and intimate knowledge of his many valuable and excellent qualities, and especially of his great and signal attachment to the party through all fortunes, and in a situation where such zeal and honesty and courage are seldom

* Tac. Ag. 44.

seen—I mean that of a man rising towards the head of our profession. He has now indeed reached the heights of it, and will presently be at the very top. He continues equally attached to us, personally and politically, though the temptations are trebled to be neutral. His value to our cause is augmented in proportion; and when the age of some of our lawyers and the indifferent health of others is considered, as a mere professional friend in the party his value is not trifling. Now, what I would suggest is this: he has twice stood a contest for Lewes, spent his money and his labour, and failed, though he has certainly formed a strong interest there, and has a very fair prospect of succeeding next time, though it will require additional expense as well as labour. To bestow this he has no sort of reluctance. But he would spend his money naturally enough with much greater freedom were he sure of its not being thrown away. Therefore, suppose you have no one whom you prefer, and that you have a seat to spare, it seems desirable to come to some such understanding with him as this;—you shall have a seat at all events, but you are to do your utmost to bring yourself in for Lewes. If you succeed, well—if you fail, we bring you in. This might not be safe with everybody; but I am sure, from what I know of Scarlett's great sense of honour, and also his desire to carry Lewes, it is quite safe with him; and instead of relaxing, will redouble his efforts. Were he uncertain, he might feel (and I know he does feel), as a man with a family depending on him, hardly justified in spending much money *at a hazard*. Pray turn this matter over in your mind, and let me know how it strikes you.

"The Lansdownes come here to-morrow, and the Jerseys are coming in a few days. I had fixed with

an Italian friend to cross the Simplon together to-morrow, and cannot put him off, otherwise I should have wished to remain a week with them, having been here while there was no tolerable society. My travelling companion is a distinguished *Liberale,* of very high birth, who has just refused an archbishopric from principle.—With best compliments to Lady Grey, believe me ever yours most truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"Address—Aux soins de Messieurs Marietti, Banquieri, Milan."

As the election of the Chamber of Deputies was to take place in September (1817), I resolved to go to Paris, the Hollands having determined to do the same. My stay there was short, and I was so fully occupied that I had no time to write to Lord Grey; but on my return to London in October I gave him an account of my visit in the following long letter:—

TO EARL GREY.

"LONDON, *October* 20, 1817.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I did not write while I was at Paris, very much from an apprehension that my letters might be opened, and from wishing to have the power of saying I never had written at all on what was going on. The watch kept on me—by the police I presume, for what I did one day, even late in the evening, was in the next morning's papers—was extremely disagreeable; and the Ultras (who are the greatest fools in the world, without any exception) kept up a succession of the most absurd reports from day to day—as that Lord Holland and myself were come over to *canvass* (Holland being nailed to his

chair with the gout), and that we went to the trials to influence the jury—Holland being confounded with Lord Glenbervie, and a kind of Centaur made out of Ellenborough and myself by the name of Lord Ellenbrougham. I *saw*, however, the whole of the Paris elections in a very satisfactory manner, so as to understand completely the way in which the new machine works. It answered very well, upon the whole. The greatest interest was felt by the electors, and by all ranks of people, which is a vast point. The press, you are aware, as far as newspapers are concerned, is under a strict censorship, which I believe to be in some degree necessary; at least I am sure it would be absurd to set the papers all at once free, though by far a worse absurdity is the manner in which the control is exercised, not a remark of any kind unfavourable to the Government or their measures being ever permitted to appear. So far is this carried, that no one paper was ever allowed to publish the *names* of the Opposition candidates, much less their addresses. The consequence was that daily they printed thousands and ten thousands of pamphlets of all sizes, from three and four to forty and fifty pages, and these were distributed liberally by them and their friends, and devoured, rather than read, by the voters and others. This became quite a system, and answered perfectly. They also had committees regularly formed, and canvassed, though not personally, yet very actively, by means of their friends. Only one candidate canvassed himself, and he had no success; but this squeamishness is going off, and another time they would go to work plainly and openly. The ministers were not idle: they both treated and bribed. Persons

of the most ordinary description having any influence —that is, commanding a few votes—were invited to dine with M. Decazes and the others by dozens; and inferior persons fed the lower voters and their friends. Gross instances of bribery are mentioned, and will be complained of at the meeting of the Chambers; but I mention the matter rather to show that there are good symptoms of the importance attached to the election by the court as well as the inhabitants generally. The three Opposition members chosen are, it is true, bankers; and no doubt their money, and still more their influence among tradesmen and other mercantile people, insured their return. But Manuel (a very clever man, and most hateful to the Royalists) had a great support; and even Constant and Lafayette (whom the court made the chief run at) polled 3000 and 2500, or thereabouts. Lafitte lent them his support, I am aware; but it is no small thing that any influence should prevail so far against the court on a question so *personally* offensive as Lafayette's election. I cannot regret the Opposition having lost those three, especially Constant and Lafayette, for it would have been too great a victory to have done real good. The panic of the court was at its height the second day, when there was a chance of their return, and it gave rise to a degree of violence not to be described. They tried to make some disturbance at the places of balloting, that they might have a pretext for calling in the gendarmerie and declaring the elections null. This was prevented by the warning the others had of it, and their resolution to bear everything rather than make the least noise. Then the Royalists spoke of nothing but repealing the law of election (to which

they still owe a sufficient grudge); and I am confident, had they been beaten—that is, had Lafayette been chosen—some violent act would have been done. In all probability the law would have been suspended; and *while the Allies are in France,* it is plainly not the interest of the Opposition to drive the court to such acts of force. I conclude that you are aware of the manner of election and the qualification—viz., direct taxes answering to about £75 a-year income, unless in the case of shopkeepers, who may have much less, as they pay a shop-tax called *Patente.* I have no doubt that some attempt will be made to disfranchise those *patentés;* for they being all the *bourgeoisie* of Paris, the strength of the Opposition lies there. That the election is quite popular enough as it now stands is evident, there being nearly 10,000 voters for Paris. A few, and but a very few, alterations in their other laws would give them a fair chance of liberty. The worst is the unlimited power of delaying a man's trial, and the system of secret interrogatory connected with it. The secret imprisonment is contrary to law, but there are no legal means of checking the abuse. The parties are in a strange state. The Russian influence (which is all-powerful) had turned out Duc de Feltre, &c., of the Ultra party, the day before I got there; and the rage of the latter against the ministerial party was beyond describing. The most sensible men of the Constitutional or Opposition party held it wise to look towards a gradual union with the ministers against the Ultras; and the Russians had a plan of the same kind, but with this defect, that they wished the Opposition to be got into places one by one at long intervals, which was manifestly objectionable. How-

ever, the election, and still more the personal abuse of Molé by Constant, Molé being the proper link between the Opposition and ministers, has for the present rendered this very difficult, and produced a coalition between the Ultras and ministers. I don't think this can last, for the Ultras consist of two bodies—one small in numbers, and most contemptible in every respect, who desire the destruction of the Charte and Legislature, and the restoration of *all* the old system in Church, State, and property; the other a much larger and more rational, at least a less insane, class, who wish only to turn out the ministers and get the government into their own hands, when I verily believe they would go on pretty much as the present men do, though leaning more towards arbitrary measures. The whole party taken together is formidable in numbers, having from seventy to eighty in the Chamber before the dissolution, and having lost only about ten or twelve; having also the chief places in the provinces in their hands, civil as well as military —for only fourteen or fifteen prefects have been dismissed since they were turned out last year. The Opposition count now above thirty, having gained most of those lost by the Ultras.

"How it is all to end one cannot very well guess, but I am quite sure that no material change will take place during the King's life. And even at his death, if —which is likely—he lives two years or more, I should apprehend that the universal dislike of revolution will keep things quiet, unless the Count d'Artois is crazy enough to attempt anything very violent—as Church property, which I dare to say he will promise the Ultras until he is king, and then find he cannot do it

without too great a risk. There are numbers of discontented people all over the country, I doubt not, especially the half-pay officers; and a very strong feeling of admiration for Bonaparte exists almost everywhere. But every day lessens the numbers of the half-pay, and the force of such feelings for any practical purpose. And as soon as the people have had a few years' rest—perhaps even before, they will be quite ready to join in any military enterprise under the Bourbons, whose power would be completely consolidated by even a tolerably successful campaign. As for the Allies remaining, it seems great folly. Every day they stay makes their removing more difficult; and it seems clear to me that if they mean to go at all, the sooner they go the better.

"Remember me most particularly to Lady Grey and the Lambtons and Flahaults, and tell Flahault that I saw Madame de Staël the day before I left Paris, quite well. I came very quick, having dined on the Monday at Paris and left it between eight and nine, and got to Hothfield two hours before dinner on Wednesday. The Hollands go somewhat slower, expecting to be ten days on the road to Calais, but they are setting out about this time.

"I was much edified with your Newcastle dinner, which seems to have answered most perfectly in every respect. I shall write to Lambton on Monday, and I fear before that we shall have news of a conviction at Derby. When I saw Cross was to be leading counsel, I was satisfied it must be a desperate case to fail, but a jury of *twelve farmers* seems decisive.

"I have seen nobody and heard nothing since I came, but shall probably before Monday.—Yours ever,

"H. Brougham."

TO EARL GREY.

"*October* 1817.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I enclose a letter, which I have just received from a Colonel Rook, whom I don't know, but it confirms the favourable accounts, and contains information respecting the proceedings of Government as to the Independents. Pray return it.

"A number of people have been speaking about a subscription (confined to small sums, as £3 or £5) for the persons confined under the suspension, who are really (I believe) in the greatest distress at this season. I said the bullying way in which Cobbett had taken it up made one averse to it, but I promised to write to you. The proposition did not come from any of the lower class of reformers, but from some friends. Pray say how it strikes you. I have great doubts, chiefly because we shall not be able to raise anything considerable.

"As for next session, I know as little of it as of the next world; but I think the best chance we have of a fair muster is to leave things alone, and not to seem at all anxious—indeed it would be difficult to *be* very anxious—about what our friends do. Any efforts one makes only slacken people, and make them angry or suspicious; and they really treat you for trying to serve them as if you were serving yourself. I think Burke once remarked that no man ever busied himself for the party without incurring this suspicion; but now they wish you not to do anything, from a shabby fear of its keeping them out of place—place of all things!—Yours ever, H. B."

Early in November, the union between the Princess Charlotte and Leopold, which—royal though it was—

promised so much happiness to them, and held out such satisfactory hopes to the nation, was suddenly brought to an untimely end by the death of the Princess, shortly after if not concurrently with, the birth of a male child still-born.

This most melancholy event produced throughout the kingdom feelings of the deepest sorrow and most bitter disappointment. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate, and it is difficult for persons not living at the time to believe, how universal and how genuine those feelings were. It really was as if every household throughout Great Britain had lost a favourite child.

It is bootless to indulge in speculations and surmises, but Grey and I in discussing the event took somewhat different views. He held that death had mercifully saved Princess Charlotte from what would have been, to her, the fearful consequences of the disgraceful proceedings against her mother. I, on the other hand, felt persuaded that, had she lived, the proceedings of 1820 never would have seen the light. Even against her, standing alone, George IV. would scarcely have ventured to have instituted them; but against her, supported by Leopold, he would have found such a course *impossible*. For Leopold, of all men I have ever known, possessed every quality to insure success against such a man as George IV., and even against such ministers as had weakly, if not dishonestly, done his bidding in 1820.

His qualities were indeed of the highest order, and among all the foreign princes ever connected with England he stood pre-eminently high—second to none, save one, the great and good Prince Albert, of whose inestimable qualities none were more remarkable than

the great judgment he showed, and the bright example he displayed, in bringing up his children. Great as was the sorrow throughout the land at his unlooked-for death, I fear me there may be yet greater grief for the loss of so wise, so sure a safeguard from evils yet to come; but let me hope these may be only the forebodings of the old man of eighty-four.

As connected with the Princess Charlotte, I give the following extract from a letter I wrote to Lord Grey:—

"*November* 6, 1817.

. . . . . .

"This is indeed a most melancholy event, and likely to lead to great difficulties; but of this hereafter.

"Vansittart wrote to a friend of mine this morning, saying that till half-past eleven the Princess was going on as well as possible; then some bad symptoms appeared; and at half-past twelve all hope was over (this differs a little from the Gazette). Vansittart adds that she behaved 'with great firmness and resignation,' which looks as if she had been sensible to the last. It is believed to have been a hæmorrhage, owing to a bad conformation. The child was killed to save her. She was extremely agitated by its death, which they tried to conceal from her; but she was so impatient about seeing it that they were obliged to tell her. The account of M^me^. Lieven is that she fell ill from this moment; but I take Tegart's* to be the medical account, and I have given it above.

"The Prince arrived at Carlton House at nine this morning, from Suffolk. He got out of one carriage into another, and went to Claremont. His being away,

* Tegart, an apothecary of great skill and high medical character, who lived in Pall Mall.

and the whole females of the family also, gives great dissatisfaction.

"I quite agree as to the subscription. As to the Spanish dinner, I have my doubts, though Wilson has mistaken me in thinking I wanted to see a *party* dinner. It was only that the *City people* who take an interest in it should do something of the kind. But there are such serious reasons on the other side that it is much better not to think more of it. At all events it should be left to themselves.

"So now we are left without heirs to the throne. If our friend M^me^. de F. had chosen, she might have been Queen, at all events mother of a king or queen; but she is far better as she is. Pray remember me most kindly to her, if she is still with you.

"I grieve to hear of your two attacks. Is it true you had also a tumble on horseback? As you are not a Yorkshireman, you may perhaps admit it, if true. —Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"*Nov.* 15, 1817.

"My dear Lord Grey,—The grief is somewhat overdone, but it must be annoying to the Prince beyond everything, and will soon be more so when certain things are recollected. It is very well for the present to be abstinent on this score, but it *must* soon be taken up.

"Pray did not the Prince appoint all her household himself, and contrary to her list which she gave in? Do you recollect anything else that might be kept in view? The blame attached to the physicians is overdone also; but certainly the having only Croft was a

great omission, and prevented him from boldly sacrificing the child.

"The heir-apparency being, as it were, in commission, will be a formidable circumstance, for all the princes *may* be king almost with equal probability; and this raises their consequence, and they all are *his* enemies. The Duke of Kent should marry, and keep out the Duke of Cumberland and his family. I have reason to know that the match with Leopold's sister is not a fabrication, but I should not like to be cited.* *

"The Hollands left Paris last Saturday.—Ever yours truly, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"*December* 3, 1817.

"My dear Lord Grey,—There seems to be something intended as to the Duke of York's resigning. From what I hear, I really believe he is to give up, and to have his debts paid (£200,000). I may say I have this on good authority, though I was specially desired to conceal it. It probably arises from the Prince already beginning to be jealous; and, with great submission to Perry, I think it quite uncalled for by the change of the Duke's situation, and in every respect injurious. It is great folly in the Duke himself, if it is a voluntary act. Pray what do you think on this matter?

"Leach is working hard to be allowed to keep the Chancellorship of the Duchy, with the new place he is to have—whether Rolls or Vice-Chancellor's; and the Chancellor, who is not his friend, is very stout against

* On the 11th July 1818, the Duke of Kent married Victoria Maria Louisa, sister of Prince Leopold, the mother of the Queen.

him. Hence, I believe, the report that he is opposed *generally* by the Chancellor, and to have no promotion. He is said to have called in the Stafford interest to his assistance by stating Wrottesley's provision as Welsh judge to depend on his promotion; but I rather suppose he only urged them to back him in the above-mentioned claim of plurality. Richards has refused to leave the Exchequer.

"The abuse of the Prince in some of the pulpits has been extreme. In a *saints'* church at Cheltenham the preacher dwelt on a verse in Jeremiah which says, 'He shall not reign, nor any of his seed.' Some newspapers are even worse. I have not seen them, but by those who have, things have been repeated to me which I consider as really very injurious.—Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

FROM THE EARL OF DARLINGTON.

"RABY CASTLE, *January* 7, 1818.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I entreat you to believe that nothing could induce me to name the following subject to you, but from the great regard that I entertain for yourself, the considerable anxiety that I feel to serve our esteemed and mutual friends, and for the support of that cause and those political principles which I am endeavouring to aid, at immense expense and trouble, and on a much more extended scale than you can possibly be aware of.*

"The subject I wish to name to you is respecting Liverpool, where I have great reason to believe that Canning (who certainly comes forward again) and

* The sums paid by Lord Darlington for boroughs which were afterwards engulfed in Schedule A of the Reform Act, were prodigious.

yourself, if you are alone and unattached to any other candidate, would meet with success.

"I have been asked if it is likely you would be induced to come forward by a man of considerable consequence, but the question was put to me in confidence not to disclose his name. I replied that I could not know your wishes on the subject, but I did know that you were already secure in a seat for the next Parliament. If, however, the people of Liverpool wished for you, the only way of ascertaining your desire would be by a communication direct to yourself, after a meeting had been held to ascertain the strength of the interest, and found to be such as to bid fair for success, accompanied with an assurance of your incurring no expense.

"I may possibly hear more on the subject, or it may be entirely dropped; but if you conceive it unworthy of your attention, or of the risk and trouble, I could be prepared to give my opinion, *if again asked*, as to your *probable acceptance* of such an offer, without any suspicion that I had corresponded with you upon the matter.

"I trust that you already know me sufficiently to prevent your suspecting for one moment that I am capable of naming this subject to you for any other motives than those already mentioned, as I sincerely assure you how truly gratified I shall be by your resuming your situation for Winchelsea; and however I may be desirous of making a sacrifice of my individual wishes for political purposes, and to add to our political strength, yet I should feel much private mortification if any circumstance could occur to diminish our intercourse, or, I may term it, connection with each other.

"Lady Darlington desires her best wishes; and believe me always sincerely yours, DARLINGTON."

TO EARL GREY.

"*January* 13, 1818.

. . . . . .

"Lord Holland, Tierney, Sir Philip Francis, Romilly, Pigott, &c. &c., dined at the Duke of Sussex's yesterday. It really was a very pleasant party, pretty much as if it had been in any other house. Francis being asked which champagne he chose to drink, roared out, '*Foaming, sir!*' I sat next him, and asked him if he had read the 'Edinburgh Review,' but he would not touch the subject.* In haste, yours ever,

"H. B."

The following refers to Romilly's death:†—

TO EARL GREY.

"*November* 7, 1818.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I wrote to Lambton, and desired him to forward my letters to you if you were not with him. I have nothing since to add, except that the physicians have still kept back, although *they admit* distinctly having at one time ordered ice-bath and bleeding, and only delayed it on account of the perspiration, and a doubt not sufficient to disprove brain-fever.

* The Identity of Junius with Living Characters established.—Edinburgh Review, No. LVII. p. 94.

† In my 'Sketches of Statesmen of the Times of George III.' I have feebly attempted to express my opinion of Romilly, and my veneration for him who was truly "Jurisperitorum disertissimus, disertorum vero jurisperitissimus."

"They may have been right or wrong in their treatment; in leaving him alone they cannot have been right. In keeping back the above material circumstance they are still more to blame. I still hope they will all three agree in doing what two of them promised—namely, stating it publicly.

"The funeral is on Wednesday, and I believe will only be attended by Lord Lansdowne, Whishaw, and myself, beside one or two near relations. It was found to be necessary that a line should be drawn; and the obvious one of excluding all not particularly mentioned in the will was adopted.

"It is in vain to regret or repine, but I certainly never thought we should live to sustain a loss which might make even Whitbread's seem inconsiderable.—Believe me ever most sincerely yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"*November* 16, 1818.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The subject [Romilly's death] is more and more affecting every day, but one must go on at all events doggedly, and try not to think of it.

"The old Queen is dead to-day at one o'clock. There is some idea among the ministers of a short session before Christmas: so says report, but I hardly can believe it.—Ever yours most sincerely, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"WOOLBEDING, *January* 1, 1819.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I wish you and all yours many happy returns of the season.

"I have been here these two days, and shall stay till Sunday. There are only the Taylors and Fergusons. I never saw Lord Robert looking better; and all the family—Ponsonbys included—are in great health and force.

"No accounts of Francis's will, and nothing relating to Junius has as yet transpired; but he had some peculiarly valuable papers, they say, which he always sent to Drummond's in a box when he left town, and had them back when he returned; and Dudley North has ascertained at Drummond's that a box of this kind used to be deposited there. I conclude that you have heard from Tierney or Holland House the statement of the ministers, that they are adjourned for five days, and not to have the Speech till the 21st. It seems like Castlereagh being ill—Tierney is persuaded that Reform will be forced early on us in some shape, and that we should if possible agree in supporting some triennial or quadrennial bill. I hope the former, for the latter won't be intelligible enough to the country.

"As for Westminster, the whole subject is too disgusting to dwell upon. The effects of the last victory over the Burdettites are almost done away, and we are fated to see Burdett return a second member (for one time at least) with the votes, if not the good wishes, of some of our very best men. It is a very gross attempt in the Hobhouse set to persuade us (as they do *in private*) that Hobhouse does not stand on the Burdett interest. On what does he stand then? Can any man fancy that this language will be held for half an hour after he is returned—even in private? For at present he durst as soon be hanged as hold such language to anybody but a few of ourselves. As for

Bennet—but that subject I must abstain from.* He is in a scrape. Kinnaird and Hobhouse are of course to be the new Burdett party instead of Cochrane: the former says he is sure of a seat.† At least one knows *what* he is; of the other we only know that he is Burdett's nominee until he can get a seat elsewhere; and that while he tells our friends that he is not of any party, he goes about all the ale-houses, comparing the House of Commons to the poison-tree in Java, &c., in the very language of the Cartwright school. I trust we shall not make any concessions to the set beyond what we should have done if Romilly had lived: nay, I am for conceding less on that account; and it is with me a very great doubt whether we should not still abstain from Reform as a party, exactly as we always have done.

"Of course, as far as my services go, they are always at the command of the *Party;* but after having attacked the Burdett school at the end of last session, I should be very loath to join in supporting them at the beginning of this. Pray remember me most particularly to Lady Grey, and believe me yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LORD GREY.

"MALVERN, *August* 25, 1819.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I always doubted the reality of the Princess's intention to come home, and what you say confirms me in the opinion of its being

* Henry-Grey Bennet, second son of Charles, fourth Earl of Tankerville, born 1777, died 1836.

† The Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, a banker in Westminster, third son of George, seventh Baron Kinnaird in the Peerage of Scotland: John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards created Lord Broughton.

a mere bravado. Her business, which in any circumstances must be disagreeable enough to all who cannot avoid taking some part in it, would have become much more so by her arrival in England. I should, however, have felt some hesitation in taking upon myself the responsibility of advising her not to come; for if she had done so, and played all her game, I am convinced she would have beaten the Prince and his foolish adviser Leach out of the field. Whatever course this business may take, we, as a party, have nothing to do but to observe the most perfect neutrality, and to decide upon the evidence as we should do in any other case. This I for one feel myself enabled to do with the truest impartiality, being, to use a word which has acquired some celebrity, quite free from any *predilections*.

"The Manchester business has been, you see, much more serious than you apprehended. According to all the statements I have got now, even those in the ministerial papers, nothing could be more unjustifiable than the conduct of the magistrates in employing the military as they did. Whether this will be the feeling of the country remains to be seen: if not, the consequences may prove most fatal to the freedom of the country: and this indeed is one of the most mischievous effects of the proceedings of the Radicals, that by abusing popular privileges they establish precedents for abridging them. My views of the state of the country are more and more gloomy. Everything is tending, and has been for some time tending, to a complete separation between the higher and lower orders of society; a state of things which can only end in the destruction of liberty, or in a convulsion which may

too probably produce the same result. It has sometimes occurred to me that we ought to try once more whether, by placing ourselves on the middle ground, condemning the conduct of Hunt and his associates, but strenuously resisting the attempt that is making to attack through them the safeguards of the constitution, we could not rally to our standard all moderate and reasonable men (and a great portion of the property of the country), to whom the people might again be brought to look as their natural leaders and protectors. But as often as I cast my eye back on the events of the last thirty years, and consider the present state and condition of the country, that hope fails me. The result, therefore, of the consideration which hitherto I have been able to give to this subject is, that we must wait till the meeting of Parliament, unless sooner called forth by some strong manifestation of public feeling to take the part which, upon a full review of all the circumstances, our principles and our duty may dictate.

"I am in a great measure ignorant of the circumstances of the Doctor's refusal to present the petitions to the Prince. There certainly ought to be no improper difficulties thrown in the way of such petitions, any more than of petitions to Parliament. But with respect to the latter, a member feels himself bound, before he presents one, to see that it is couched in language which does not violate the rules of decency. Is there any greater objection to the observance of this principle in presenting a petition to the Prince than to either House of Parliament? The question, I think, will be, whether the language of the petitions was really improper and insulting. If it was not, there can be no doubt that the conduct of a Secretary of

State who refused to present them would be subject to just reprehension.—Ever most truly yours,

"GREY.

"Pray let me hear from you now and then, when you have nothing better to do. What do you think of magistrates, in the execution of a judicial duty, suspending their proceedings, and detaining men in prison without examination, for the avowed purpose of consulting the ministers of the Crown? This indeed seems to me one of the strongest constitutional questions that ever occurred. It is a very natural consequence of Sidmouth's circular."

During the spring and autumn of 1819 there had been meetings held in different parts of England and Scotland, some for repeal of the corn-laws, some on the distress in the manufacturing districts, others for Parliamentary reforms. In the latter, Mr Hunt, who was a leader among the Radicals, generally played a very prominent part. The largest and most important meeting was held on ground near Manchester, called St Peter's Field, and there the soldiers being called in, many of the people were wounded and several killed. Hunt was sent to prison on a charge of high treason, which, however, the Government were wise enough to abandon. The tragedy at Manchester got the name of the Peterloo Massacre, and produced a vast amount of indignation all over the country, and led to "the six Acts" being passed during that session of Parliament. Nevertheless, the proceedings of the Radicals had been unjustifiable; and although not sufficiently so to warrant the harsh measure of the Government, still

bad enough to make reflecting men consider that the time was come for taking some steps in support of order, but not forgetting the redress of the grievances complained of. The following correspondence will show what was proposed to be done in the way of calling county meetings:—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 18, 1819.

"I heartily condole with you on poor Pigott's death.* None knew him better or valued him more justly (and indeed it was quite mutual) than yourself. These repeated losses are very annoying, and even dispiriting.

"What say you to the Lancaster Grand Jury? Think of Stanley and Hornby making no stand—if indeed they did not. But I am little surprised. Indeed I knew the stuff of which juries in that cursed county are made, and foretold the result from the first. My only astonishment is their having thrown out a bill for a perfectly new offence—'having a libel in his possession, with intent to publish.' I maintain that if an action be not brought against the magistrate who dared to commit for this, and damages be not recovered, any justice may henceforward imprison whomsoever he pleases, and invent new crimes at his pleasure.

"I perceive symptoms in these counties (Cumberland and Westmorland) of requisitions for county meetings on the Manchester business; but the requisitionists are not Radical reformers, and some of them have advertised to give '*the lie*' to those who reported them to be so.

"Whether they will be held or not, I can't tell; for,

* Sir Arthur Pigott, Attorney-General in 1806.

on being applied to, I said that I should be ready to do my duty, but I had rather not move early in the business. I am anxious to hear what you hold respecting it, and the tone to be taken if they are held. In these counties we have the grand advantage of a *clear stage* and no Hunt, &c.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"APPLEBY CASTLE, *September* 19, 1819.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am anxious at this moment to learn your views of the right course for us to take.

"First, as to the difficult question of meetings; much may be said against it, but, on the whole, I rather incline to having them if we can get several—certainly if we can get a good number. The annoyance is very great to us individually, and the risk of the Huntites perverting the thing to their purposes is imminent. But I can't help thinking we are sure of a friendly reception,—wherever we appear among the people only telling them fairly and openly that on certain points we differ, and will not therefore now say anything, but that we are resolved to stand by them where we think them right, and to do what we can towards redressing grievances of which we think they justly complain, and towards bettering their general condition by all the means in our power.

"My fear is that, if matters are left to themselves, we shall have a green bag, which is worse than Hunt. And really the tendency of things at present—to end in a total separation of the upper and middling from the lower classes, the property from the population—is sufficiently apparent and rather alarming.

"If public meetings are held which we can attend, and if they treat us ever so badly—even if Hunt and Co. beat us out of the field, and the mob take part against us—what then? We have done our best to keep on good terms with them, without giving up our principles or encouraging delusions; and when they are brought to their senses by the natural results of their violence—namely, strong measures on the part of Government—they will do us justice and come back to us.

"Next, as to the tone to be taken. I think it should be very temperate and discreet, arguing hypothetically, 'unless something quite unknown to us shall come out,' &c. We are not obliged to do more than call for full inquiry, which prejudges nothing. However, Government have prejudged on one side without any examination at all.

"I have thrown out what has occurred to me, but it is very material that I should know your views by return of post, addressed to me at *Kendal*, as I am going to a dinner there, and can hardly avoid breaking ground, which may be the opening of the campaign.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"Lord Thanet is quite well. We could *follow* better than lead in county meetings, and have resolved to do so. The prominent part of Hunt in this matter makes it very difficult to hold respectable meetings anywhere. That procession in London must damp the feeling about Manchester very much."

TO EARL GREY.

"GRANTHAM, *October* 24, 1819.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—These strange things (Lord

Fitzwilliam and the new army) are plainly none of Lord Liverpool's doing. I see Wellington in them, and I have little doubt that they seriously and desperately intend to change the Government into one less free.* I should say they did so if they passed laws restricting meetings and the press. Nor would it stop there. That many will support them cordially, I cannot doubt. The Radicals have made themselves so odious, that a number even of our own way of thinking would be well enough pleased to see them and their vile press put down at all hazards. And a still larger body of our enemies secretly long for a good quiet despotism, not reflecting that its blessings must (in this country at least) be obtained through long civil wars.

"Nothing can be more important or more difficult than the part cast on us in this crisis; but if we continue firm and cautious we have a chance of doing something. I question if the present overt acts of violence would have been attempted but for the late crotchets of some of our friends, and I heartily hope Morpeth and the Cavendishes may *now* be cured of them. We really must rally and make a great struggle. For this purpose ought we not all to be in town a week before the 23d, and to hold a united meeting of the two Houses, and enter into some specific resolutions? There is clearly no medium between the most complete concert and a total abandonment of discipline, for any middle course really cripples us and plays their game. I make no doubt that the miscreants calculate on effecting their desperate purpose at the expense of a hard-fought session one month in duration, and then meeting Parliament again with the country

* Lord Fitzwilliam, deprived of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Yorkshire.

quietly gagged, when the Prince has doubtless been taught to expect that he may divorce as much as he pleases. I have exhorted Lord Hutchinson to come over before the meeting, and if he sees the Prince again he will be able to give him a last solemn warning before embarking in this new and desperate course.

"Pray let me hear from you the moment I get to town, which will not be before Thursday. I shall write to you.—Yours, &c., H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"5 HILL STREET, *October* 31, 1819.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I grieve to hear of your having been ill, but I take it for granted it is the old complaint, and you generally used to have a bout of it at the change of the weather.

"Your coming before the meeting is most consolatory, and has diffused universal satisfaction. I shall give you a few '*notices.*'

"Milton writes (on receipt of the intelligence) most stoutly, treating the removal as a real deliverance from the ignominy of executing the orders of such men. We agree in thinking Wellington's hand appears in it. It has not, however, altered Morpeth's opinion as to meetings. I have had no answer from the Duke of Devonshire.

"Murray is just come from Paris, and says Lord Lansdowne says 'he will do *anything* short of shaking hands with Hunt,' and this must have been before the dismissal.

"All our other friends (Lord Darlington included) are perfectly stout, which is of infinite moment. We have only to pray that no tumults may take place

anywhere, and to take care that we go on moderately, and in a conciliatory manner, with the very few who see *part* of the case in a different point of view; and for this purpose an early assembling in town and frequent conferences seem indispensable.

"The accounts from Holland House (of Georgina) are as bad as possible. She is just alive. Of course you have heard who comes in for 'Peterboro,' which is more than we know in town—only certainly not William Ponsonby. He says an old friend of Lord Fitzwilliam. By the way, William Lamb will vote for inquiry.

"The papers have told you of our Westmorland meeting, which went off excellently; but the strange thing is, Lord Lonsdale having praised our county (Cumberland) address, refused to sign their ultra-loyal one, and rebuked its promoters. Everybody believes it came from Lowther, and they add that Lord Lonsdale changed his tone upon the respectable Tories, Wallace, &c., refusing to sign. They have now substituted a commonplace one. Wilson was going to write to-day, but as I wished to do so he delays till Monday.

"Lord Thanet comes to-day.

"Best regards to Lady Grey and all at Howick.—Believe me ever yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"*November* 1, 1819.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—

. . . . . .

"The Radical meeting to-day in Finsbury Place is over, having failed indeed; they say not above 1200 present. These fellows are clearly dished by respectable people coming forward.

"The more I see and hear, the more I conceive some clear, short, and firm declaration of the party necessary, separating ourselves (without offensive expressions) from the Radicals, and avowing our loyalty, but at the same time our determination to stand by the constitution, and to oppose all illegal attempts to violate it, and all new laws to alter its free nature. I have, however, had no conversation with anybody about it—not even with Lord Thanet—till I heard from you. But happening to see the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, they both asked anxiously if the party were not disposed to make some such avowal; and on my saying I expected to hear on the subject from you, they both desired me to express to you their willingness to sign anything we all agreed on; and the Duke of Kent added, that he had no wish to put himself forward as a party-man, but that the late measures, and particularly Lord Fitzwilliam's dismissal, alarmed him extremely, as indicating evil designs; and that he thought the only means of preventing anarchy and the overthrow of the constitution was the firmness of such a body as the Whigs in resisting *all* attacks on it; and therefore he desired to sign some such declaration, and should delay his leaving town for that purpose, and to express his opinion shortly in Parliament. I said I should communicate this to you, but that I never yet had heard the subject of a declaration broached, though I had my own opinion upon it.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"I see no way half so effectual of stopping all the present cry against us for countenancing Radicals, as well as of assisting us in fighting against the new measures."

CHAPTER XVI.

APPROACH OF THE EPOCH OF THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CAROLINE—RETROSPECT—WHITBREAD'S SERVICES—PERNICIOUS COUNTER-ADVICE—THE MILAN COMMISSION—VISIT TO HER AT ST OMER—NOTES OF CONFERENCE WITH THE QUEEN AND LORD HUTCHINSON—FRUITLESS ADVICE AND WARNINGS—HER DETERMINATION TO RETURN—ARRIVAL IN LONDON—THE GREEN BAG—POLITICAL SOURCE OF "THE BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES"—NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE KING AND THE QUEEN—THE CONFERENCE—THE DIFFICULTY WITH THE SECRET ADVISERS—THE MESSAGE TO THE COMMONS—THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONTEST—OPINION ON THE WHOLE CASE—AWARE OF INDISCRETIONS, BUT DISBELIEF IN THE ACCUSATIONS—THE WITNESSES—ADJOURNMENT.

I CANNOT recount the great events of 1820 without again referring to Whitbread, who continued to the end of his life to be the firm and effectual supporter of the Queen down to the last. I recollect his writing me a few lines to mention his having called to see Fitzpatrick, then on his deathbed, and how much interest he felt in our proceedings. This was, however, in 1814; but one of the last times I saw him, the year after, he discussed the risks we considered the Princess to run from the machinations of her enemies, and the facilities which her residence abroad gave them, and we resolved to urge her return, or at least her residing in France or Switzerland. I must add

that among the advisers of her going abroad was Canning. This he owned in the House of Commons, in the debate of 1820, upon her return. Neither Whitbread nor I were at all aware of it; and this was one of the instances of which I always complained of her listening to persons whose interference we were not apprised of. We never could object to her asking the opinion or even taking the advice of others; but we had good right to complain if she consulted persons without letting us know who they were. While she remained abroad, many rumours, of course, reached this country; but I had accounts which I could better rely upon from those in her suite, and there was great ground for alarm at the carelessness with which she suffered strangers to make her acquaintance, and of her gaiety and love of amusement leading her into the society of foreigners, and thus exposing her to the constant risk of false reports being conveyed to England by the spies set about her. Nothing, however, was done until the Princess Charlotte's death removed one of her steady friends, with whom it was not thought convenient to renew a quarrel that had proved injurious to all but herself. When she no longer remained to take her mother's part, the Commission was sent to Milan, and then it was quite manifest that measures were prepared to attack her. My correspondence with some friends of the Princess, on whom I could entirely depend—as Sir William Gell, the Miss Berrys, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and Lady Glenbervie—made it quite clear that, after her daughter's death, she had given up all wish to return; but that the vexation of the constant spies she was beset by, and all the mean contrivances to lower her in the

eyes of whatever court she came near, had made her existence intolerable under this endless annoyance of every kind, and that she would be most happy if any arrangement could be made for her entire freedom from all vexation. Her wish was to take some royal title in the family, and, having her income secured, to be recognised by our foreign ministers at whatever court she might choose for a time to have her residence. Being on intimate terms with Lord Hutchinson, a political as well as a personal friend, I wrote him a letter, which he was at liberty to communicate to the Prince, with whom he was on intimate terms, though not at all one of the Carlton House set. Though I well knew that the Princess would adopt this plan, yet I purposely avoided any direct communication with her, in order that I might not in any way commit her, and might state distinctly that it was only a proposition which I was disposed to make to her, and advise her to consider it.

The accounts which I had received from persons on whom I could rely as to the people who had access to her, and the confident statements put about of the Milan inquiry, inclined me to join some of the Princess's best and most judicious friends in advising her to accept such terms as I had proposed in this communication, and to agree with herself in thinking her remaining abroad, at least for the present, advisable. I expected the proposal would be accepted; but in case it was not, she was not committed by it. I have little or no doubt that if the proposal had been at once accepted by the Regent and his advisers she would have been glad to remain abroad. Things were materially changed, however, in January 1820.

Upon the King's death she had become Queen, and the difficulty became considerable of her position at foreign courts, which would have been easy while only Princess of Wales; and then, upon becoming Queen, she might have retained the title under which she had been known before. It must be allowed that the Regent and his ministers were placed in a great embarrassment by some of the Opposition (Tierney especially) calling for inquiry into the reports circulated, and declaring that without it they could not vote the allowance for life, her then income being limited to the time she was Princess of Wales. There was also this other difficulty, that the acceptance of my proposition could not occasion her remaining abroad without an express provision to that effect in the grant. Nevertheless, if the annuity had been granted, the omission in the bill of 1814 being supplied, the Prince might have trusted to her complying with the understood conditions, and her coming home would have been avoided, which was the thing both parties desired. Instead of that, she suddenly found herself Queen, without any arrangement whatever, and under no condition. She was at Geneva, and her best friends strongly recommended her to remain there until some arrangement could be made. But she received letters from less discreet parties in England, urging her to set out; and she conceived that if she came near England she could more easily negotiate. I was quite convinced that if she once set out she never would stop short. The Milan proceedings were the general topic of conversation, and the feeling which had been so strong in her favour before she left England, had been revived in consequence of those

proceedings. Therefore it was quite certain that those who had written to her whilst she was at Geneva would influence her as she approached England, by speaking in the name of the multitude, and would advise her to throw herself on them for protection against the attempts of the Milan Commission and those who had set it to work. So it happened. I had taken the precaution of sending over my brother James to confer with her, and to ascertain who had been examined at Milan, and as far as possible to find out what kind of evidence they had given. It appeared that there was nothing of which she had any reason to be apprehensive, except that almost all the witnesses were Italians, and some of them turned-off servants, and others of disreputable class. But I remained of opinion, in which she entirely concurred, that, however impossible it might be to prove any misconduct, it was very much better to have an arrangement which should supersede all necessity of an inquiry, and leave her conduct entirely unimpeached.

She came to St Omer, where I went to meet her, accompanied by Hutchinson and my brother William. I was the bearer of a proposition that she should have all the rights of Queen-Consort, especially as regarded money and patronage, on consenting to live abroad. Lord Hutchinson was the bearer of an intimation that on her coming to England all negotiation must cease. I found her surrounded by Italians, and resolved to come to England. I advised her against this step, as it must put an end to all negotiation; for example, upon the right to use a royal title, or even to be presented at foreign courts as Queen. My impression

was that she had been alarmed at the result of the Milan inquiry, of which most exaggerated rumours were purposely spread, and that those who urged her coming over had succeeded in persuading her that her safety would be best consulted by the popular feeling which her arrival was certain to excite. A long discussion with her had no effect in diverting her from her purpose, which I believed to have been fixed before she set out on her journey; and she left St Omer very suddenly, after refusing to let Lord Hutchinson be presented to her.

The following notes, which passed at St Omer between the parties—*i.e.*, the Queen, Lord Hutchinson, and myself—show more distinctly the course that the affair took: *

"Mr Brougham having humbly submitted to the Queen that he had reason to believe that Lord Hutchinson had brought over a proposition from the King to her Majesty, the Queen has been pleased to command Mr Brougham to request Lord Hutchinson to communicate any such proposition as soon as possible in writing. The bearer of this, Count Vassali, will wait to receive it from his Lordship.

"*June* 4, 1820."

FROM LORD HUTCHINSON.

"St Omer, *June* 4, 1820—*half-past* 1 P.M.

"Lord Hutchinson presents his compliments to Mr Brougham, and requests that he will have the goodness to present his humble and respectful duty to the

* See debate in the House of Commons, 6th June 1820, on the tenor of these notes.—Hansard, 871.

Queen. He is charged with a proposition to her Majesty, both from the Government and with the full knowledge and approbation of the King. But before he mentions it to her Majesty in form, he must look over several papers which contain the intentions of the Government, and probably even await the arrival of a courier, whom he expects every moment from Paris, and who, undoubtedly, will arrive in the course of a few hours. Lord Hutchinson would make the communication immediately, but it has not been conveyed to him in any specific form of words. It can therefore only be collected from the bearing and import of the several papers now in his possession. On a transaction of so delicate a nature it is impossible to observe too much caution and circumspection; and indeed he wishes to convey any proposition which he has to make to her Majesty with that respectful deference which is due to her exalted rank, but, at the same time, with that fidelity which he owes to his sovereign, who has intrusted him with a most delicate commission, on the occasion and ultimate issue of which depend such important interests, involving in them the honour, happiness, and future destinies of the Queen of England. Lord Hutchinson hopes that Mr Brougham and her Majesty will impute his request for a short delay only to the proper motive, which is that of an anxious wish to bring this painful negotiation to an issue equally satisfactory to the illustrious personages principally concerned. Lord Hutchinson has not time to take a copy of this paper, as he does not wish to detain the Count."

I immediately communicated this note to her

Majesty, who directed me to write to Lord Hutchinson as follows:—

"Mr Brougham is commanded by the Queen to express to Lord Hutchinson her Majesty's surprise at his Lordship not being ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he is the bearer; but as Lord Hutchinson is desirous of a few hours' delay, her Majesty will wait until five o'clock, in the expectation of receiving a communication from his Lordship at that hour.

"2 *o'clock—June* 4, 1820."

In a couple of hours I received from Lord Hutchinson the following letter:—

FROM LORD HUTCHINSON.

"*June* 4, 1820—4 *o'clock.*

"SIR,—In obedience to the commands of the Queen, I have to inform you that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions, detailed in a specific form of words, which I could lay before her Majesty; but I can detail to you, for her information, the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's ministers propose that £50,000 per annum should be settled on the Queen for life, subject to such conditions as the King may impose. I have also reason to know that the conditions likely to be imposed by his Majesty are, that the Queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England. A condition is also to be attached to this grant, that

she is not to reside in any part of the United Kingdom, or even to visit England. The consequence of such a visit will be an immediate message to Parliament, and the entire end to all compromise and negotiation. I believe that there is no other condition—I am sure none of any importance. I think it right to send to you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to me. His words are:—'It is material that her Majesty should know, confidentially, that if she shall be so ill advised as to come over to this country, there must then be an end to all negotiation and compromise. The decision, I may say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shores.' I cannot conclude this letter without my humble, though serious and sincere supplication, that her Majesty will take these propositions into her most calm consideration, and not act with any hurry or precipitation on so important a subject. I hope that my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious counsel to the Queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with the reflection that I have performed a painful duty imposed upon me, to the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case in the decision of which the King, the Queen, the Government, and the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion; but it is her Majesty's decision, and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make

use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the Queen has refused to give any, even the shortest, delay.—I have the honour to be, Sir, with great regard, your most obedient humble servant,

"HUTCHINSON."

Lord Hutchinson's letter having been submitted to the Queen, her Majesty directed me to answer it as follows :—

"Mr Brougham is commanded by the Queen to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Hutchinson's letter, and to inform his Lordship that it is quite impossible for her Majesty to listen to such a proposition.

"5 *o'clock, June* 4, 1820."

To this I received immediately the following reply :—

"ST OMER, 5 *o'clock, June* 4, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I should wish that you would enter into a more detailed explanation. But to show you my anxious and sincere wish for an accommodation, I am willing to send a courier to England to ask for further instruction, provided her Majesty will communicate to you whether any part of the proposition which I have made would be acceptable to her; and if there is anything which she may wish to offer to the English Government on her part, I am willing to make myself the medium through which it may pass.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

"HUTCHINSON."

Before I received this letter, the Queen had left St

Omer. I therefore immediately forwarded it by a courier, enclosing it in the following letter:—

"St Omer, *half-past* 5 *o'clock, June* 4, 1820.

"Mr Brougham presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and encloses the letter which he received from Lord Hutchinson the moment after your Majesty left St Omer. Mr Brougham once more implores your Majesty to refrain from rushing into certain trouble, and possible danger; or at least to delay taking this step until Lord Hutchinson shall have received fresh instructions. If your Majesty will authorise Mr Brougham to make a proposition like the one contained in the other letter, all may yet be well.

"But your Majesty will put an end to every kind of accommodation by landing in England."

This letter and the following were written after the Queen's abrupt departure, and were sent off to her by a courier to Calais:—

"St Omer, *June* 4, 1820—6 *o'clock.*

"Madam,—I entreat your Majesty once more to reflect calmly and patiently upon the step about to be taken, and to permit me to repeat my deliberate opinion. I do not advise your Majesty to entertain the proposition that has been made. But if another proposition were made instead of it, I should earnestly urge your Majesty to accept it—namely, that the annuity should be granted without any renunciation of rank or title or rights, and with a pledge on the part of the Government that your Majesty should be acknowledged and received abroad by all the diplomatic agents of the country according to your rank and station, but that

your Majesty should not go to England. The reason why I should give this advice is, that I can see no real good to your Majesty in such an expedition, if your Majesty can obtain without going all that it is possible to wish. I give this advice, most sincerely convinced that it is calculated to save your Majesty an infinite deal of pain and anxiety, and also because I am sure it is for the interest of the country.

"Suffer me, Madam, to add that there are some persons whose advice is of a different cast, and who will be found very feeble allies in the hour of difficulty.

"I know not that I have a right to proceed further, but a strong sense of duty impels me.

"If your Majesty shall determine to go to England before any new offer can be made, I earnestly implore your Majesty to proceed in the most private and even secret manner possible. It may be very well for a candidate at an election to be drawn into towns by the populace—and they will mean nothing but good in showing this attention to your Majesty—but a Queen of England may well dispense with such marks of popular favour; and my duty to your Majesty binds me to say very plainly that I shall consider every such exhibition as both hurtful to your Majesty's real dignity, and full of danger in its probable consequences.

"I know your Majesty's goodness and good sense too well not to be convinced that you will pardon me for thus once more urging what I had before in conversation stated.—And I have the honour to be your Majesty's devoted and faithful servant,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Apprehensive that proceedings might be instantly taken on the Queen's arrival in London, which I had too much reason to believe would be immediate, and anxious that nothing should be done in Parliament until I was in my place, I addressed the following letter to Lord Liverpool :—

(*Most secret.*)

"St Omer, *Sunday night, June* 4, 1820.

"My Lord,—My letter of last night may have prepared your Lordship for hearing that, five minutes after the Queen had rejected Lord Hutchinson's proposition, which she did the moment it was made—this evening at five o'clock—she set out for Calais, having previously prepared everything for her journey, and sent all her Italian attendants off to Italy. I had not advised her to accept that proposal, but I strongly urged her to offer terms—viz., to stay abroad, provided she were acknowledged and respected as Queen. I did this in the spirit which has always regulated my conduct in this affair—that of preventing whatever tended only to annoy, and to force on discussions unnecessary in themselves and hurtful to the country. In the same spirit I have most earnestly urged her Majesty to go (if she finally resolves to go) as secretly as possible; and I wrote to her at Calais to-night to repeat my remonstrances, and to entreat that at least she would give Lord Hutchinson time to send a courier to London for fresh instructions. Your Lordship will see from the enclosed what view I have taken of this matter.

"I sincerely regret the failure of this negotiation, on every account. But even if the Queen had listened to

me alone, and had paid far more attention to my advice than she has done, I feel that my sense of public duty could not have carried me further than I went, considering the duty which I owed to my client. To that length these two duties coincided perfectly; and though I cannot allow myself for a moment to suppose that the Queen runs any risk by the step she is taking, yet I am certain that she exposes herself to trouble which might have been avoided.—I have the honour to be your Lordship's obedient servant,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"*P.S.*—I afterwards wrote a still stronger remonstrance to Calais, which *may* produce some effect, though I hardly dare to hope it. Mr Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton went with the Queen; and neither of them are acquainted with *any one part of her case.* It seems difficult, therefore, to suppose that they should offer advice, and still more so to imagine that it can be taken."

(*Private.*)

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

"ST OMER, *Monday morning, June* 5, 1820.

"MY LORD,—The courier sent from Calais early this morning must have reached your Lordship before this can arrive; and the Queen will in all probability have reached London also.

"I shall be there to-morrow evening, if the wind permits; and I have only to request that the message to Parliament may not be sent till I am in my place. I trust I need hardly repeat to your Lordship my assurances how much I regret the failure of this nego-

tiation; and I beg leave to add that I shall at all times be ready to lend my aid in case it is renewed, being deeply convinced that the best interests, both of the country and of the parties, require an amicable arrangement on the basis of mutual sacrifices; nor does it follow that the Queen, when in England, will reject the advice I may then offer, as she has before her arrival.—I have the honour to be your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant,

"H. BROUGHAM."

On her arrival in London she gave extreme offence to the King by allowing Alderman Wood to sit in the carriage with her, as she drove through the town to his house in South Audley Street, where she remained till a house in Portman Square was got ready for her. She afterwards occupied the house at Hammersmith, with a house in St James's Square when she had occasion to come to town. It is impossible to describe the universal, and strong, even violent, feelings of the people, not only in London but all over the country, upon the subject of the Queen. Of course, in London the multitude were as unreflecting as they usually are when their feelings are excited. I recollect one instance among many others. The crowd collected wherever they knew her to be, and called her to appear at the windows of whatever house she was in. The cheers and noise were excessive, and exposed her to great annoyance and fatigue. They called for cheers to individuals by name, and sometimes the cry was "Three cheers for Mr Austin, the Queen's son;" thereby assuming her to have been convicted of the high treason of which the inquiry in 1806 had acquitted her.

On the 6th of June, Lord Liverpool in the Lords, and Lord Castlereagh in the Commons, brought down a message from the King, accompanied by a green bag sealed, which contained the evidence upon which the case against the Queen was supposed to be founded.

In the Lords, a secret committee of fifteen peers was at once appointed, to whom the contents of the green bag were referred. In the Commons, ministers made an attempt to induce the House to act with equal rapidity; but I was fully prepared for this movement, and without much difficulty succeeded in defeating it. Without having given the smallest hint of my intention to any one, save Denman, I effected this by at once entering fully into the whole case. Canning, in answering me, while he supported the ministers, acted most honourably, and bore such testimony to the virtues and high bearing of the Princess whose honour, and I may almost say life, was assailed by a husband whose whole life and conduct in the marriage state had been a barefaced violation of his vows—that ministers were forced to give way, and an adjournment was agreed to without a division. However, the counsels of men who were base enough to pander to the King's wishes, lest by opposing them the Tory ministry might be destroyed, prevailed; and it was determined to introduce a Bill of Pains and Penalties, to degrade the Queen-Consort, and to dissolve her marriage with the King.

The House of Commons having deferred the appointment of a select committee, Wilberforce, of all men the most fit to lead the resistance to this hateful measure, on the 20th of June proposed an address to the Queen, which, after expressing deep regret that the endeavours to frame an arrangement (referring to the

attempt made by Wellington, Castlereagh, Denman, and myself) had failed, represented to her Majesty the inestimable importance of an amicable adjustment, prayed her to yield to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and accede to certain of the King's proposals, which, in the opinion of the House, she might do without any sacrifice of her honour. This address was agreed to by the House, and was carried up to the Queen by Wilberforce the mover, Stuart-Wortley* the seconder, Bankes, and Sir Thomas Ackland.

The Queen, receiving the members with the greatest courtesy, declined in the most decided terms to accede to the request of the Commons, on the ground that agreeing to it would of necessity leave her conduct open to the gravest suspicion. Thus it became unavoidable that the inquiry must proceed. The further consideration of the King's message having been adjourned for a few days in the Commons, I made the following communication to Lord Liverpool on Friday the 9th of June:—

"The Queen commands Mr Brougham to inform Lord Liverpool that she has directed her most serious attention to the declared sense of Parliament as to the propriety of some amicable adjustment of existing differences being attempted, and submitting to that high authority with the gratitude due to the protection she has always received from it. Her Majesty no longer waits for a communication from the servants of the Crown, but commands Mr Brougham to announce her own readiness to consider any arrangement that can be suggested consistent with her dignity and honour.

"1 *o'clock, Friday, June* 9, 1820."

* Afterwards Lord Wharncliffe.

The following letter from Lady Charlotte Campbell (lady-in-waiting) explains itself, and may properly be here interposed. It shows that it was thought expedient to prove to the King that there was no personal disrespect.

"Her Majesty, being gone to her bedroom, commands me to say that she sent for Sir William Grant, according to Mr Brougham's desire, supposing that he had some communication to make from Mr Canning. Sir W. G. came and assured her that he had not seen any of the Cabinet ministers, and had no communication whatever to make from them. The Queen then represented to Sir W. if he would go to Mr Canning in her name, that she thought the only way matters could be arranged was for her to have an interview with the King. Sir W. G. took this message to Mr Canning, and returned, saying that Mr Canning thought it quite impossible that such a proposal could be made to the King; he also said—except the Queen would throw herself upon the mercy of the King. She then assured Sir W. that her Majesty would never ask mercy of the King, and that she only wished to have an audience of his Majesty, as every peeress had a right to have.

"Mr Canning also mentioned that the report had been presented to the King on Saturday evening, and now he had no more power to interfere in his Majesty's affairs.

"*June* 10, 1820.

"*P.S.*—The Queen desires Mr Brougham to consider through what channel it could best be effected for her Majesty to see the King."

My answer to her was, that I saw no chance whatever, now that Canning was out of the question.

The following notes carry on my narrative, and also explain the feelings on the part of the Queen, and the conciliatory views by which she was influenced:*

"The Queen commands Mr Brougham to inform Lord Liverpool that she has received his letter, and that the memorandum of April 15th, 1820, which the proposition made through Lord Hutchinson had appeared to supersede, has also been now submitted to her Majesty for the first time.

"Her Majesty does not consider the terms there specified as at all according with the condition upon which she informed Lord Liverpool yesterday that she would entertain a proposal—namely, that it should be consistent with her dignity and honour.

"At the same time she is willing to acquit those who made this proposal of intending anything offensive to her Majesty, and Lord Liverpool's letter indicates a disposition to receive any suggestions which she may offer.

"Her Majesty retains the same desire which she commanded Mr Brougham yesterday to express, of submitting her own wishes to the authority of Parliament, now so decisively interposed. Still acting upon the same principles, she now commands Mr Brougham to add, that she feels it necessary, before making any further proposal, to have it understood that the recognition of her rank and privileges as

* See in connection with what follows, the papers termed "Communications on the part of the Queen with his Majesty's Government," presented to Parliament by Lord Castlereagh on 19th June 1820.—Hansard, 1147.

Queen must form the basis of any arrangement which can be made.

"The moment that basis is established, her Majesty will be ready to suggest a method by which she conceives all existing differences may be satisfactorily adjusted.

"*June* 10, 1820."

FROM THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

"Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the Queen's communication, and cannot refrain from expressing the extreme surprise of the King's servants that the memorandum of April the 15th, the only proposition to her Majesty which was ever authorised by his Majesty, should not have been submitted to her Majesty until yesterday.

"That memorandum contains so full a communication of the intentions and views of the King's Government with respect to the Queen, as to have entitled his Majesty's servants to an equally frank, full, and candid explanation on the part of her Majesty's advisers.

"The memorandum of the 15th of April, while it proposed that her Majesty should abstain from the exercise of the rights and privileges of Queen, with certain exceptions, did not call upon her Majesty to renounce any of them.

"Whatever appertains to her Majesty by law as Queen, must continue to appertain to her so long as it is not abrogated by law.

"The King's servants, in expressing their readiness to receive the suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment which her Majesty's advisers promise, think it right, in order to save time, distinctly to state, that any proposition which they could feel it to be consistent with

their duty to recommend to his Majesty, must have for its basis her Majesty's residence abroad.

"FIFE HOUSE, *June* 11, 1820."

"The Queen commands Mr Brougham to acknowledge having received Lord Liverpool's note of last night, and to inform his Lordship that her Majesty takes it for granted that the memorandum of April 15th was not submitted to her Majesty before Saturday, only because her legal advisers had no opportunity of seeing her until Lord Hutchinson was on the spot prepared to treat with her Majesty.

"Her Majesty commands Mr Brougham to state that as the basis of her recognition as Queen is admitted by the King's Government, and as his Majesty's servants express their readiness to receive any suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, her Majesty, still acting upon the same principles which have always guided her conduct, will now point out a method by which it appears to her that the subject in contemplation may be attained.

"Her Majesty's dignity and honour being secured, she regards all other matters as of comparatively little importance; and is willing to leave everything to the decision of any person or persons of high station and character whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income—subject, of course, to the approbation of Parliament.

"*June* 12, 1820."

"The Queen commands Mr Brougham to add that, as her only wish is to vindicate herself, whatever ar-

rangement may be calculated to secure this object without offering any injury to the feelings of others, will be most likely to afford satisfaction to her Majesty.

"*June* 12, 1820."

"Lord Liverpool has received the communication made by the Queen's commands.

"The King's servants feel it to be unnecessary to enter into any discussion on the early parts of this communication, except to repeat that the memorandum delivered to Mr Brougham of the 15th April contained the only proposition to the Queen which the King authorised to be made to her Majesty.

"The views and sentiments of the King's Government as to her Majesty's actual situation are sufficiently explained in Lord Liverpool's note of the 11th inst.

"Lord Liverpool will proceed, therefore, to the proposal made on the part of her Majesty at the close of this communication—namely, that she 'is willing to leave everything to the decision of any person or persons of high station and character whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income—subject, of course, to the approbation of Parliament.'

"The King's confidential servants cannot think it consistent with their constitutional responsibility to advise the King to submit to any arbitration a matter so deeply connected with the honour and dignity of his crown, and with the most important public interests; but they are fully sensible of the advantages which may be derived from an unreserved personal discussion; and they are therefore prepared to advise

his Majesty to appoint two of his Majesty's confidential servants, who, in concert with the like number of persons to be named by the Queen, may frame an arrangement, to be submitted to his Majesty, for settling, upon the basis of Lord Liverpool's note of the 11th instant, the necessary particulars of her Majesty's future situation.

"FIFE HOUSE, *June* 13, 1820."

"Lord Liverpool presents his compliments to Mr Brougham, and requests that he will inform the Queen that if the accompanying answer should not appear to require any reply, Lord Liverpool is prepared to name the two persons whom his Majesty will appoint for the purpose referred to in this note.

"FIFE HOUSE, *June* 13, 1820."

"Mr Brougham presents his compliments to Lord Liverpool, and begs leave to inform him that he has received the Queen's commands to name two persons to meet the two whom his Lordship may name on the part of his Majesty's Government, for the purpose of settling an arrangement.

"Mr Brougham hopes to be favoured with Lord Liverpool's nomination this evening, in order that an early appointment for a meeting to-morrow may be made.

"5 HILL STREET, *June* 14, 1820."

The Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh were named to represent the King; and, at first, Lords Fitzwilliam and Sefton the Queen. The two former came to Wentworth House, in Grosvenor Square; and I was

asked to attend, in order to introduce the parties to each other. There were all sorts of blunders and mistakes as to time; and after a ridiculous hour passed in waiting for one person and another, rendered the more ridiculous from the arbitrators thinking fit to come in court-dress, we all separated, nothing being done or said, except by the Duke, who, with his usual good sense, observed that the affair never could go on unless, instead of Sefton and Fitzwilliam—who, after the first meeting, had declined to act—Denman and I should be the persons on the Queen's part, which he undertook to make the Government of the King approve; and accordingly, Denman and I were accepted by the Government on the part of the Queen. We had several meetings, and I conceived a very high opinion, not only of the Duke's ability as a negotiator, but also of Castlereagh's. It was plain from the first that they had nothing like full powers from the King. Nor, indeed, had we from the Queen; for, upon some alarm being given her by the meddling folks whom she saw, she complained that she was not informed of the whole of the negotiation, although we made a point of conveying to her the substance of each day's discussion. Another thing happened both during the negotiation and at other parts of the proceeding. Acting under the influence of Lady Anne Hamilton, one of her ladies, she sent letters to the Speaker, to be read to the House of Commons, or rather formal messages, beginning Caroline R., which Lady Anne's brother, Lord Archibald (our stanch supporter), and myself were never aware of till an hour before they were [to be] read by the Speaker; and on one occasion we had hardly time to prevent it by hastening to her house

and causing her to countermand what she had been induced to do. More than once I have been obliged to say, that unless the step intended was abandoned I must resign my place in her service. Among other occasions of this threat being required, one was on the eve of Wilberforce's motion, when he found she had sent a message to the House of Commons, and went to wait upon her that it might be stopped. He saw her, and was evidently struck with her dignified demeanour and her acuteness; but returned to town, having failed. I had then to apply the stronger pressure, and of course succeeded.

When the address of the House of Commons went up, Wilberforce, the mover, and Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe), the seconder, presented it, as I have before stated; and her counsel were all in attendance.* We had resolved to give no advice whatever, but to leave her the entire option of agreeing or refusing. This was, on every account, the necessary course to take, because, if she had been acting under our advice, it would have entirely destroyed the effect of her resolution; and we felt quite certain that if we advised her to comply with the desire of the Commons and to leave the country, we should have been proclaimed by her violent and secret advisers as the cause of her going; and it would have been affirmed that she was herself desirous of remaining and meeting the charges. Indeed, I doubt if we should have escaped the fury of the multitude. She anxiously pressed us to give our opinion, one after another, and we all declined, stating that it was for her to decide, and not us, who were only

* See debate on Mr Wilberforce's motion "for adjusting the differences existing in the Royal Family," 22d June 1820.—Hansard, 1213.

her legal advisers. For my own part, I was very desirous that she should accept the proposition, as I should avoid a most laborious and irksome duty, rendered still more vexatious by her listening to secret advisers, some of whom were in the hands of the mob, and others were intermeddling and restless women. I also felt that she exposed herself to the consequences of the inquiry, of which, from all the facts that had reached me, I felt pretty sure she had no reason to be apprehensive, as far as the result was concerned; but its consequences, in continued persecution, I was sure that she might expect to be even more harassing after her successful vindication, connected as that must needs be with strong popular demonstrations. But it was impossible to interfere, for she would unquestionably have decided that she accepted, by our advice; and as we must be supposed to know her whole case, her shrinking from inquiry would have been as complete as if she accepted by her unassisted determination. Indeed, it might even have been reckoned a more complete admission that her case was bad. On the other hand, her refusal by our advice was of little avail compared with her own determination to meet the charge. When we had retired in order that she might come to a determination, she called us in, and announced that she had resolved to refuse, and said that she had, from the beginning, no doubt or hesitation, though she desired to have our opinion. She then laid before us the words of her refusal, and asked us if there was any objection to them. We entirely approved. I rather think either Lushington or Vizard (her solicitor) had drawn up the answer. On it being given to the deputation from the Commons, they re-

ceived it respectfully, but expressed their regret. When it was announced to the immense multitude assembled round the House that she had refused, the cheering was very great and hearty. But it was with difficulty that the deputation escaped maltreatment, the hissing and screams against them being excessive. It was carefully announced to the people by some of her unprofessional friends that her refusal was entirely her own act, and this occasioned a renewal of applause. It was clear that the secret advisers had put about all manner of suspicions of the known, or especially of the professional, advisers of the Queen. Of this we had constant indications, and it was only after the proceedings had begun that we escaped the censures of the multitude. Certainly we then had an abundant share of popular favour in every way. The disappointment of the Government at the refusal was great—far greater than the King's, who was bent upon proceeding, because not satisfied with such a result as would only expel the Queen from England. He desired the bill beyond everything, Leach and his other secret advisers never allowing him to doubt that it must pass; but he required a divorce clause to be inserted, and this was only withdrawn, in the course of the proceeding, by the resistance of Lord Lonsdale, whose son (Lord Lowther) was a devoted adherent of Carlton House, and would on no account have thwarted the King in this particular. The ministers, on the contrary, were only desirous to have the whole proceeding put an end to, and Canning more than any of them.

When the message of the 5th of June was brought down to the Commons—the beginning of the whole proceeding—I resolved upon the course which we

should take, but kept it most carefully concealed from all but Denman. It was decisive of our success. I suddenly entered entirely and fully into the Queen's whole case. I thus gained the incalculable advantage of at once delaying the proceeding, and the further benefit of a difference of opinion being disclosed among the ministers by the speech of Canning, which I foresaw the absolute impossibility of his avoiding, and which he could not make without showing that he differed with his colleagues. The speech was shabby enough, as was his subsequent one on Wilberforce's motion; his plain object being to avoid a breach with the King, and to aid by all means a result which might save his honour towards the Queen, and not make his resignation of office necessary. However, at a subsequent stage his conduct was straightforward, manly, and in every respect creditable to him. The Duke, who, with every one else, was taken by surprise—not a creature but Denman being aware of my design—was unable to force on the proceeding. If he had had the least suspicion of my intention, he certainly would have pressed on the division on Castlereagh's motion, and the secret committee would have been named either that night or the night after; but probably that night, as the Duke never did things by halves. After my speech this was quite impossible.

The King expressed himself as to my conduct in the cause somewhat differently to different people, but never ceased to abuse me generally. The following letter shows the language he held to Lord St Vincent. It is from his confidential physician, with whom he had been on intimate terms many years, both what he called *afloat* and on shore :—

"LONDON, *April* 2, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,—I thought I had put you in possession of what Lord St Vincent said to me, which was, that 'the King was quite satisfied with *your* conduct at the Queen's trial, that you did nothing but what you were bound to do in defence of your client, and that his Majesty entertained a high opinion of you.' I have heard his Lordship express himself to this effect more than once.

"Mr Tucker is in town, and will wait on you when you arrive here.—I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

"A. BAIRD.

"To H. BROUGHAM, Esq., M.P."

On the 19th of August Lord King moved that it was not necessary that the bill should pass into a law; to this Lord Liverpool moved an amendment that counsel be called in. This was carried by 181 to 65. Lord Grey then moved that it was not expedient to proceed further with the bill. This motion was rejected by 179 to 64. Counsel were then called in, and the Attorney-General commenced his opening of the case in support of the bill. On Monday, 21st, he concluded his opening, and began the evidence by calling as his first witness Theodore Majocchi, who was examined at considerable length by the Solicitor-General, Copley. The examination-in-chief concluded on the 22d, when my cross-examination began, Wednesday intervening. I finished on the 24th by completely demolishing this important witness.

When the proceedings against her commenced, my coadjutors in Parliament were Denman, her Solicitor-General, Lushington, and Williams. We had also the

able and useful assistance of Wilde, who had been bred an attorney, and but lately come to the bar, and of Tindal, then rising into the great practice which he soon obtained, and kept till he became Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas. We owed the great benefit of Wilde to the Alderman pressing him upon the Queen, to which we readily assented.* We always felt that Wilde had been put upon us as more fully trusted by the secret advisers of the Queen than we were, and he began with these suspicions infused into us against him. We very soon found how utterly groundless these suspicions were, and saw that they arose from our discretion and circumspection being greater than that of his recommenders, who were in the hands of the mob, and had no discretion or circumspection at all.

Her solicitor was Vizard, whose strictly honourable character and professional talents, with his sound judgment, made him a valuable associate; and his trustworthiness, the most essential recommendation in so delicate a case, led to my treating him as one of the counsel rather than the solicitor only. The experience which I had had of him in the great commercial question of the Orders in Council, 1808, when I recommended him to the petitioners, and afterwards, in 1812, when I represented them in Parliament, left me no doubt about recommending him to the Queen.

In some respects I stood in a different position from all my colleagues. I had been the Queen's adviser for many years, including the critical times of 1813

* Alderman Wood, a zealous but not very wise partisan: for some of the foolish advice he gave to the Queen, he got the name of "ABSOLUTE WISDOM."

and 1814; and my standing and position in Parliament gave me great weight in a case like ours, which was in part political, and with which parties in both Houses were much mixed up. From these circumstances, and from my intercourse with the Opposition leaders, both in the Lords and Commons, I had authority with the public and Parliament, but especially with the Queen herself. I could form an opinion upon the probable effects of different proceedings to be taken on our part; and I could more easily than the others communicate with the Queen, and with those of her household and in her confidence. It must further be observed that I was acquainted with circumstances, unknown to them, of great indiscretions on her part, though entirely unconnected with the charges against her. Of the utter groundlessness of those charges we all had the most complete and unhesitating belief; and I quite as much as any of the others. The evidence and discussion at the trial not only failed to shake the conviction with which we set out from our knowledge of the Milan proceedings, and from our communication with such of her household as had attended her in the south, but very greatly confirmed it, and removed whatever doubts had for a moment crossed our minds. I can most positively affirm, that if every one of us had been put upon our oaths as jurymen, we should all have declared that there was not the least ground for the charges against her. The same was the clear and decided opinion of those most acquainted personally with her habits, from having been long on intimate terms with her—as Lord Archibald Hamilton; or having been her ladies—as Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Glenbervie. All

these laughed to scorn the stories told by the Italian witnesses about what passed on shore, and still more, if possible, the tales of what passed on board ship in the Levant.

When it was resolved to go on with the bill, the difficulty arose from both the Queen's law officers being in Parliament, as were also the Attorney and Solicitor General of the King. I proposed to relinquish my seat, without having previously made any arrangement for being again returned by Lord Darlington, after the cause should be at an end. My Parish School Bill had been introduced, which I afterwards was prevented from carrying by the absurd and groundless prejudice of the Dissenters, when it was supported by the Church—the Dissenters opposing it because it was so supported. The second reading and full defence of its principles was brought on immediately by me, because I believed that I should a few days after be out of Parliament. But the ministers were so much at a loss for their Crown lawyers, should they as well as we be obliged to quit their seats, that the very extraordinary course was taken of allowing us all to take part in the proceedings upon the bill—a thing without any example, and which has never been done in any case since.

In the conduct of our case I laid down some rules, which we found of the greatest importance, trivial as they now appear. One was that we should have a consultation both before and after each day's proceedings. For this purpose I required that we should breakfast at the House of Lords, and we had a room allotted to us connected with the coffee-house. I considered that this insured the attendance of all at the

early hour. As it was vacation-time, some of us went to chambers, and I lived in mine, so as to avoid the interruptions of the west end of the town. In the evening I went among the members of both Houses, both at Brooke's and in the families which I knew they frequented. This gave me the means of ascertaining, as we proceeded, the effects of the evidence and of the arguments on both sides. We had our second consultation at the rising of the House; and sometimes, on reconsidering the day's proceedings, such of my colleagues as had anything pressing to suggest, which might be too late at the next morning's consultation, would come to me so late as to be certain of my having returned to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where my chambers then were. This happened in a remarkable part of the evidence. Majocchi had been examined in chief, and Copley had purposely protracted his examination until it was too late for us to take off the effect of his evidence by cross-examination—of which we complained, because it made its impression, unaffected by our attacks, the whole of that evening on the House of Lords, and the next day also in the town. I had gone to bed early, being a good deal fatigued, and Tindal, with Wilde, called, and were shown into my bedroom. They had come for the purpose of going through our shorthand-writer's note of Majocchi's evidence, which they had considered carefully, and with the view of offering such suggestions as had occurred to them for his cross-examination. We went through the different parts of the evidence that most pressed upon us, and they went away. But something further having occurred to them, they came back immediately, and found me

fast asleep. We then finished our consultation, and I undoubtedly profited by their remarks, added to the observations which had been made at our consultation. But when I came to cross-examine the man next day, my course was guided chiefly (as it must needs be) by the first answers I received, and by his demeanour as a witness. It was very doubtful whether we ought not to have left his "*non mi ricordo*" for comment, and without giving him the means of retracting or explaining it away. Some of us, I rather think Denman, was of that opinion; but all approved my plan of feeling my way at first, and only making war upon him when I had ascertained that we had nothing to fear. In this Williams concurred. I went to work as cautiously as possible; and after going to other topics, I recollected an expression he had dropped in the former part of my cross-examination. It seemed to give me an opening, and I went back, and got an answer which made me quite secure. I indicated my sense of the advantage I had got by some gesture which alarmed Denman, and he whispered words of caution; but I felt secure, and then poured question after question into him, and got him to repeat his "*non mi ricordo*" as often as I chose. The story among us was, that my rising taller at the first opening the man gave me, put them in mind of the Duke of Wellington at Salamanca, when he discovered that Marmont had left an opening in his line; and certainly the defeat of the bill turned very much upon Majocchi's cross-examination. I mean the defeat as regarded the opinion formed of our case by the Lords; for our strength against the bill lay in the general demurrer which all men, in and out of Parliament,

made—namely, that, admit everything true which is alleged against the Queen, after the treatment she had received ever since she came to England, her husband had no right to the relief prayed by him, and the punishment he sought against her. Next to the demolition of Majocchi's evidence, that of Demont's by Williams's most able and effectual cross-examination was the most important event in the case as regards the witnesses. In all the proceedings on the bill we had no misadventure; on the contrary, their sending away Rastelli gave us a great advantage, which they did not at first perceive that we were aware of, and intended to use. It was plain, from their anxiety during my examination, that they only began to believe they were . . . [illegible], and that we were aware of the great error they had committed after I had proceeded to a considerable length, and then it was too late; for the man was gone, and they could not bring him back, which they said they should have done. We were almost equally fortunate in having only two mishaps in our case, and by the demeanour of our people, one of which was made of no consequence by what followed. It was the Queen, who attended, coming in state, and having a seat within the bar, when Majocchi was called, exclaiming, "Teodore!" and immediately retiring. This looked like an alarm, and was sedulously represented as an indication that she knew he came to give testimony which she was afraid of, and that her expression was of astonishment that he should appear against her. Possibly it was; but the failure of his evidence to stand cross-examination and sifting completely proved that she had no reason to fear anything but

his gross perjury. The other was a lieutenant in the navy, Hownam, fainting under examination when he was pressed, in consequence of having thought he could make an impression by his manner of relating things. As Thanet said of Sheridan's evidence, to which he partly ascribed his conviction, that he wished to make a show of how he should excel in giving his testimony—forgetting, said Thanet, that the only excellence of a witness is clearly and correctly stating the facts;—so Hownam desired to obtain a like distinction by a like injury. I must, however, add that Sheridan did beat Garrow, and turn the laugh against him; and that his evidence did not materially injure Thanet's case.*

The case for the Crown having closed on the 7th of September, the House of Lords decided on Saturday the 9th to adjourn the further consideration of the second reading of the bill to Tuesday the 3d of October. I passed a part of this interval at Brougham, and when there wrote as follows to Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 10, 1820.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I wish I could tell you more accurately than I fear I am about to do. But it *must* be partly conjecture. I hear the Government reckon on the House of Commons beginning with the bill November 4. If so, I don't see why I should

* In allusion to the trial of Lord Thanet, Mr Ferguson, and others, for the attempt to rescue Arthur O'Connor from custody in 1799.—St. Tr. xxvii. 821.

not get away before the end of this month. I certainly do not look to much above a week more in the Lords, who will pass the bill as a matter of course, and would do so if no witnesses had been called on either side, and would also add a clause, if desired, to cut off my head or cut out my tongue, and to order Lady Anne to marry Denman and Williams, which would be a far worse punishment than *mine*. In fact, the only remote chance of their *hesitating* is the fear they may have of its not going down elsewhere; for I am by no means sure of its passing the Commons, and the Lords may be afraid of the scrape they would be in were they to pass it and the Commons to throw it out.

"I find the feeling universal in the country, and the evidence is little thought of. First, the people don't much trouble themselves with inquiry whether she is guilty or not, rightly conceiving that to be rather a question of curiosity than of any connection with the present case; and next, such as trouble themselves with such inquiries don't go beyond Majocchi and Demont.

"By the by, Bergami seems to puzzle and divide them. Some think him a spy, and all his family; others are prepared, if he comes over, to set him up for Middlesex or Yorkshire.—Believe me yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

The following letter from Denman at the beginning of the adjournment shows his opinion of our case at that time. It was in answer to one from me, asking what he thought should be our future course of proceeding.

"CHELTENHAM, *September* 13, 1820.

"You state so clearly and fully all that can be said on either side of the question as to our course of proceeding, that one has nothing to do but say on which side one votes; but I will mention how the matter struck me, as far as I had considered it, before your letter came. I have persuaded myself, on a careful perusal of the evidence, that we are now entitled to the *verdict.* The inconsistencies, the meannesses, the marvellous non-confirmation, the poverty of cogent proof, considering the means possessed and unsparingly employed, the uncandid and cunning course of prosecution,—convince me of this, even independently of the never-failing topics of Italians, discarded servants, foreign manners, &c. But this is the strength of our case; what can be added will be comparatively feeble at least, if not actually injurious. The Lords have been tired of the subject; but they will return to it with some curiosity, to hear not only what is to be proved, but what can be said. Our complaints of being silenced when the case closed will be almost as useful as the liberty of answering immediately would have been. But this is the crisis of the case, and here you must be heard at large, and tear their case into a thousand pieces. The opening of ours I expect to be nothing, in fact; but if we are fortunately better provided with facts, my impression is that Williams should state them. With the frankness of which you gave me an example, I own that I think either you or I should *sum up,* under which name the whole case may be fully discussed, and the weakness of the original proofs for the prosecution again denounced. Unless our case turns out much better than I anticipate, your

fatigue at the close of some hours' speaking will be a complete apology for confining your statement to the most general terms possible; and, at all events, it ought rather to fall short of the evidence than overstep it. Lushington may be heard either before or after the summing up, as circumstances at the moment seem to require. I shall send your letter to him by to-day's post, and hope to see him here to-morrow. We will then give you more in detail our joint opinion.

"Meanwhile, my general impression is, that our strength is in their weakness; that our case will be next to nothing; that the opening, therefore, ought rather to be slurred than explicit; but that, as the evidence now stands, we are clearly entitled to an acquittal in any court, and may decidedly fix public opinion in our favour.

"In case of evidence in reply, you must again be heard, when, in spite of all restrictions, you will derive the fullest advantage from every favourable occurrence that may have arisen in the further progress of the affair.

"I get better every hour, and most sincerely hope you keep your own, and improve.

"Pray write again if anything strikes you.—Yours most faithfully and sincerely, THOMAS DENMAN."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NORTHERN CIRCUIT—RESUMPTION OF THE GREAT CAUSE—ITALIAN WITNESSES—THE TACTICS OF THE DEFENCE—THE PERORATION—THE BILL ABANDONED—INTENDED POLICY IN THE COMMONS IF IT HAD PASSED THE LORDS—THE POPULAR FEELING—THE TROOPS—REVELATION OF THE PURPOSE OF THE THREAT IN THE OPENING OF THE DEFENCE—THE LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE FITZHERBERT MARRIAGE—EVIDENCE OF THE CEREMONY—FEELING OF THE KING ON THE LOSS OF THE BILL—ELDON AND LEACH—THE POLITICAL EFFECT—THE QUEEN'S POSITION—THE CORONATION—ADVICE TO THE QUEEN NOT TO ATTEND—HER DEATH—PERSONAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF QUEEN CAROLINE—THE DISTURBANCES AT THE FUNERAL—PROSECUTION OF A CLERGYMAN FOR PREACHING A LIBEL ON THE QUEEN.

We all of the common-law bar went our several circuits, and I had the opportunity of frequent conferences with Williams and Tindal, who went the northern circuit as I did. I had many communications, of course, from both Vizard and others in London, and from those who were sent abroad on the Queen's behalf. Upon these Williams, Tindal, and myself conferred. We of course gave up all that part of the circuit after York, and returned to town, to be ready for the 3d of October, when the proceedings were fixed to commence. At all our consultations, when we differed, whether at the one before or after the day's proceed-

ings, if immediate steps were not to be taken, I used to adjourn the decision till next consultation; and it several times happened that I stood alone, in which case the course was pursued according to my opinion, and I remember no instance of my colleagues abiding by their own contrary opinion. One such case, and of great importance, was when the Lords were for making us open our case before the three weeks' adjournment, and the others considered that the benefit of my necessarily imperfect answer to the adverse case would be greater than a more deliberate and better-prepared answer afterwards. There was a great deal to be said in favour of meeting the adverse case before it had sunk in the minds of the Lords during the adjournment, and of giving the tone to our supporters in the country. I at first strongly inclined to this opinion; but as we were not all agreed, I put off the decision till next morning, and went to Holland House, where I passed the night. But I spent the evening and the next morning in looking over the evidence and my notes, and preparing myself for immediately opening our case (at least, so far as answering the case against us), on the supposition of our adopting the course which the Lords wished to force upon us. When we met at our morning consultation I found all were agreed to that line; but great doubts had presented themselves to my mind. I had no apprehension of the public feeling being turned against us, or even at all relaxed; because the case being *ex parte*, there would be the strongest disposition among reflecting persons to delay forming an opinion until we were heard, and the others, who with little reflection

had taken our part, would not be changed by hearing one side. As to the Lords, I considered that my speech, separated from our evidence, would lose its effect, even if it had the full preparation which such a mass of evidence required; and I further conceived that our calm and deliberate consideration of some most important parts of the subject, would be a greater benefit than anything we should gain by an immediate, as compared with a deferred, answer to our adversaries. I stated the opinion to which I had come, and stated it strongly. They were as decided in maintaining theirs, with the additional advantage of mine having undergone a change; but I overruled them, and the proposal of the Lords was refused. I found, when, three weeks after, we came to town and had our consultation before opening our case, that the reflection during the adjournment had brought them all round to my opinion, and that they were well pleased with my plan having been adopted. Another instance of our differing was on a proposal which I wished to make while the case for the bill was proceeding, that both sides should waive the rights of summing up—that is, of having a second speech. I was inclined to this from the great failure of the Attorney-General (Gifford), whose defeat had exceedingly injured their case; and was expected by them, and dreaded by us, to be amply supplied by the Solicitor-General (Copley) summing up,—to get rid of which we felt to be a great advantage. Notwithstanding the serious loss of Denman's summing up, it was thought not too great a sacrifice to make for that object. The other side, and indeed the Lords them-

selves, considered the proposition not fit to be entertained. Here I differed with the majority, but did not insist upon my opinion being followed.

A great question arose among us as to the calling Countess Oldi, sister of Bergami, who had been much referred to by our adversaries; and as she was said to be a person of inferior rank, the Queen's associating with her was given as a proof of extreme favour to Bergami. She was also described by some of the witnesses as having been present at important scenes, and her words were given on some occasions. Our information from the Queen and others was directly in contradiction to all this; and she was represented to us as a person of distinguished appearance and manners. There were manifest reasons why we should call her, unless we were prepared to admit all that had been sworn to, and which we were told she could contradict. The Queen was most anxious that she should be examined. All my colleagues were clear she must be called; one or two circumstances led to a different opinion, and I decided that she should not be called; but I proposed that I should, contrary to the usual rule, of counsel never seeing a witness, make an exception in this case, on account of her only speaking Italian, and our solicitor (Vizard) not being able to converse with her. It was therefore resolved that I should see her, and that on the result the determination to call her or not should turn. I had an interview with her at the house in St James's Square, she not being previously informed of my intention, but it having been ascertained at what time I was sure of finding her at home. The result was decisive. Of her appearance and manners we had been very cor-

rectly informed; they were in all respects favourable. But five minutes sufficed to prove my apprehensions well founded; namely, that she would lie without scruple and without bounds, and that Copley would only have to ask her leading questions on matters on which there had been evidence undeniably accurate, and admitted by our case to be so, and he could obtain whatever answers she thought best served the case of the Queen. For instance, it having been clearly proved that different persons had been in the Queen's bedroom (which was explained by the habits of the country, and by those persons coming for orders, or simply to deliver verbal messages), I called her attention to that, and asked if such a thing ever happened; she said at once—"Oh! never at any time or on any occasion." I tried her in several other matters of the same kind, and she always answered in the same way. It was plain, therefore, that we durst not call her. Wilde indeed used, till checked by us, to propose that Vizard, or whoever examined our witnesses, should present things to their mind, retaining as he did his old habits of an attorney, and regarding it as quite justifiable to suggest things to a witness. But this was out of the question in any case; and as to M^me^. Oldi, it would have required a very full and particular suggestion to put her on her guard against the cross-examination she was sure to undergo. Our whole case would have been destroyed by her ready perjuries. For we were in this peculiarly dangerous position as compared with that of our adversaries: if their case failed in nine points, and they succeeded in a tenth, provided that one was sufficient to support the bill, they could rely safely on this instance, not-

withstanding their repeated failures in other instances of alleged misconduct. But if we, having succeeded in defeating them in nine instances by unexceptionable testimony, adduced a single witness who was manifestly perjured, the Lords would have given the whole case against us. When I met my colleagues next morning, they admitted that we had had a great escape in not at once deciding, as they had wished, to call Oldi.

We were repeatedly inclined to retire from the bar upon some vote, proposed by our supporters in the Lords, being given against us, but supported by a respectable minority. Having that grievance to justify us, we felt quite certain that the Lords could not pass the bill in our absence, if a considerable body of our members opposed it. But we never could obtain such a movement on the part of the Opposition—who sometimes assumed a party attitude, sometimes a judicial. Of this mixed capacity individual peers gave remarkable examples in displaying the talent for cross-examination. When successful, they were like advocates; but when they failed, straightway they became judicial, and must only be considered to put the question as judges anxious to draw out the truth. It is needless to say how eminently Erskine shone above all the rest. His conduct throughout had all the excellence of the judicial character, combined with the most perfect skill in eliciting the truth by his examination. His leanings were all on our side, from his thorough conviction of the gross injustice and cruelty with which the Queen had been always treated.

At our repeated consultations my colleagues had declared strongly against calling Mariette Bron, Demont's sister, who was still in the Queen's service; but they

felt how great a damage this would be to our case. I resolved upon declaring, in opening the defence, that I meant to call her; of course, after urging strongly that she was the witness of our adversaries, and not ours. Yet notwithstanding this I should call her, which I intended to do the first possible opportunity—that is, when our evidence had at any moment produced such an impression as might make any failure of Bron of little consequence. When my address closed, I felt that the impression made, especially by the peroration, was stronger than I could have expected. This I gathered from the loudly-declared feeling both of our adversaries at the bar and also of the Lords. I ran down-stairs to the room allotted to our witnesses, that I might bring her up immediately and examine her alone; or rather tender her for cross-examination, they not being prepared to sift her. I reckoned on her escaping with a few questions on their part, and I should then have called for judgment, or for their reply, and we should have been safe, without calling any other witnesses. Her examination, or the tendering her for cross-examination, was all we required; if we had her not, then we must go into our whole case. Unhappily she was not be found, so Williams went on to open our case in detail, and to urge such points as I had insufficiently touched upon. But, above all, he had to open our evidence, as Mariette Bron was not to be found. In the course of a few days we came to the knowledge of things in her conduct, and of declarations which she had made to connections of her sister, that rendered calling her quite impossible.

The peroration of the address above referred to was as follows; and the subjoined letter, written to my

mother by Lord Minto, a partisan of Lord Granville (who voted for the bill), would seem to show that our case, as set forth in that address, had had its effect:—"Such then, my Lords, is this case. And again let me call on you, even at the risk of repetition, never to dismiss for a moment from your minds the two great points upon which I rest my attack upon the evidence; first, that the accusers have not proved the facts by the good witnesses who were within their reach, whom they had no shadow of pretext for not calling; and, secondly, that the witnesses whom they have ventured to call are, every one of them, irreparably damaged in their credit. How, I again ask, is a plot ever to be discovered, except by the means of these two principles? Nay, there are instances in which plots have been discovered through the medium of the second principle when the first had happened to fail. When venerable witnesses have been seen brought forward—when persons above all suspicion have lent themselves for a season to impure plans—when no escape for the guiltless seemed open, no chance of safety to remain,—they have almost providentially escaped from the snare by the second of those two principles; by the evidence breaking down where it was not expected to be sifted; by a weak point being found where no provision, the attack being unforeseen, had been made to support it. Your Lordships recollect that great passage—I say great, for it is poetically just and eloquent, even were it not inspired—in the sacred writings, where the Elders had joined themselves in a plot which had appeared to have succeeded; 'for that,' as the Book says, 'they had hardened their hearts, and had turned away their eyes,

that they might not look at Heaven, and that they might do the purposes of unjust judgments.' But they, though giving a clear, consistent, uncontradicted story, were disappointed, and their victim was rescued from their gripe by the trifling circumstance of a contradiction about a tamarisk-tree. Let not man call those contradictions or those falsehoods which false witnesses swear to from needless and heedless falsehood—such as Sacchi about his changing his name; or such as Demont about her letters; such as Majocchi about the banker's clerk; or such as all the other contradictions and falsehoods, not going to the main body of the case, but to the main body of the credit of the witnesses,—let not man rashly and blindly call these things accidents. They are just rather than merciful dispensations of that Providence which wills not that the guilty should triumph, and which favourably protects the innocent.

"Such, my Lords, is the case now before you! Such is the evidence in support of this measure—evidence, inadequate to prove a debt—impotent to deprive of a civil right—ridiculous to convict of the lowest offence—scandalous if brought forward to support a charge of the highest nature which the law knows—monstrous to ruin the honour, to blast the name, of an English Queen! What shall I say, then, if this is the proof by which an act of judicial legislation, a Parliamentary sentence, an *ex post facto* law, is sought to be passed against this defenceless woman? My Lords, I pray you to pause. I do earnestly beseech you to take heed! You are standing upon the brink of a precipice; then beware! It will go forth your judgment, if sentence shall go against the Queen. But it will be

the only judgment you ever pronounced, which, instead of reaching its object, will return and bound back upon those who gave it. Save the country, my Lords, from the horrors of this catastrophe—save yourselves from this peril; rescue that country, of which you are the ornaments, but in which you can flourish no longer, when severed from the people, than the blossom when cut off from the roots and the stem of the tree. Save that country, that you may continue to adorn it—save the Crown, which is in jeopardy—the Aristocracy, which is shaken—save the Altar, which must stagger with the blow that rends its kindred Throne. You have said, my Lords, you have willed—the Church and the King have willed—that the Queen should be deprived of its solemn service. She has instead of that solemnity the heartfelt prayers of the people. She wants no prayers of mine. But I do here pour forth my humble supplications at the throne of mercy, that that mercy may be poured down upon the people in a larger measure than the merits of their rulers may deserve, and that your hearts may be turned to justice!"*

The letter of Lord Minto, which I before referred to, was as follows:—

"House of Lords, *October* 4, 1820.

"My dear Mrs Brougham,—For fear others should be too much occupied to think of you this morning, I take the opportunity of a short interruption in the proceedings of the day, to let you know that Brougham has just concluded a speech which has delighted and *astonished* the most sanguine of his friends, who, you

* Speeches, i. 226 *et seq.*

may believe, were prepared to expect as much from him as man is capable of.

"In addition to his own peculiar and powerful style of eloquence, he has on this occasion shown that he is capable of equal excellence in a species of oratory for which many had not given him credit.

"I will not say a word more of it, but I assure you that its effect upon even those who are not disposed to judge kindly, has been equally flattering. It will never be forgotten.—Ever yours most sincerely,

"MINTO."

As soon as I heard that Government had given up the bill, I wrote to my brother James, then on a visit to Lord Kinnaird in Scotland:—

"*Friday, November* 10, 1820.

"The bill is thrown out to-day. We run them to nine majority, so they gave in.

"What will happen here God knows. The town is of course in a bustle. I should have been eaten up alive to-day, as I was near being yesterday at the Lord Mayor's Day, but I came away by a by-path. I walked quietly off therefore, and then got home unobserved; only I was recognised looking at something in a shop-window, so I got into a hackney-coach, and then went and dined as usual at the Bench table, Lincoln's Inn, and was all evening in chambers, and have been in court all to-day.

"No business all day in the City, and now all is illuminated, even more than after Waterloo; and *it may be better* for the country, if it is well improved. If there is a change of system and an end of jobbing, it

will be well. Should there be a change, my fixed intention is not to take office. I shall remain quietly in the law, and shall (if they come in) get them to make Denman Solicitor-General under Scarlett, who must be Attorney. My course is clear: I will not lose my influence in the country, so capable of being turned to the best purposes: This I should lose by taking such a place as Solicitor-General, and I can make as much money as I have occasion for, without place.

"If they come in, I shall be a far better support to them if I am out of office. If they do come in, Kinnaird must not only be made an English peer, but hold some very great office. He is the cleverest man going, as well as the most honourable and agreeable. Pray remember me to him. H. B."

Among the many things which have been suggested by persons in criticising our conduct of the cause, and which had occurred to ourselves and been rejected with more or less of unanimity, that which a secretary of Canning has given as his view of our error, certainly never had for a moment occurred to any one of us. He says that Canning charged me with a great error, in not, when I delivered my address, at once reading to the House a list of the witnesses whom I was prepared to call; and this, it seems, he thought, would have been enough to obtain immediate judgment against the bill. I will venture to say that anything more absurd never entered into any man's mind, I may say, in the conduct of any cause or legal proceeding; and I am justified in supposing that he must have been misunderstood. No one, how ignorant soever of law pro-

ceedings, could seriously believe such a course deserving of a moment's consideration.

I have often been asked what I should have done had the bill passed the Lords, instead of being withdrawn after the second reading. I have said, as I did while it was going on, that I should certainly stop it in the Commons. It must, according to the rules of proceeding, have been brought down by two judges, as a royal family bill, and not by Masters in Chancery; and I used to say that these judges would pass a great part of their lives in the lobby of the House of Commons; for I should assuredly debate night after night, and prevent it being brought up to the table. With a large portion of the House in our favour by their votes, almost the whole in their hearts against the bill, possibly a majority even voting against it—but at all events a very large minority, and nearly the whole country agreeing with that minority—its making any progress was absolutely impossible.

Much has been said of the feeling of the troops. Of this we had remarkable proofs. The soldiers, like many of the people, considered that the Queen as well as the King was entitled to their allegiance. Indeed, "*God save the King and Queen*" was in former days a very common form of expression; for instance, it was at the foot of all the play-bills. I recollect a letter of my mother telling me with some alarm of a regiment of cavalry stopping on its march at Penrith, and hearing they were in my neighbourhood, they drank my health, but the Queen's, of course, with much more enthusiasm; and vowed "they would fight up to their knees in blood for their Queen." At one time the evidence against her appeared to be strong, and the impression

unfavourable for a day, as on Majocchi's examination in chief. The Guards, in their undress trousers and foraging-caps, came at night to where they supposed the Queen was, or her family and friends, and they said, "Never mind; it may be going badly, but, better or worse, we are all with you." I was exceedingly alarmed at such things, and peremptorily desired that not only no encouragement should be given to these men, but that no communication whatever should be had with any soldiers. I was quite certain that it only required a single instance of such language being used in the presence of any one connected with our case, not only to destroy it at once in both Houses of Parliament, but in a week's time with all rational and reflecting persons, and in less than a month with the rest of the community, whom the respectable and reflecting class never fails to influence sooner or later. The Duke of Gloucester, to whom I mentioned the state of feeling in the army (expressing my sense of the escape we had made by the Duke of Kent not being at the head of a party now against the King, as he had a few years back been against the Duke of York), said, he totally disbelieved it. Next day I saw him again and asked him how it had happened that his own regiment of Guards had been ordered out of London in consequence of the language they held. He denied it. But again I saw him, and proved to him that the regiment had mutinied at Kingston on its march to a more distant quarter. Nothing was to be remarked in the conduct of the men who, with the police, had the management of the streets as regarded the mob. Daily, no doubt, there were loud demonstrations as different peers passed, great cheering of some,

and much hissing and yelling at others. The pressure of the crowd was also great, and would have been most troublesome to the peers when they left their carriages and entered the House, but for an arrangement that was made after the inconvenience experienced the first day. A great barrier was erected across the street at the entrance of Old Palace Yard, and this broke the force of the crowd, so that the other barrier round the entrance of the House was quite sufficient protection. There never was the least collision between the mob and either the troops or the police. But all our accounts were that the soldiers showed plain signs of being with the multitude in their cheers and yells.

Independent of our support from the people, and even upon the supposition of the case appearing against us, I had a sure resource—a course which could not have failed, even if the bill had actually passed the Lords. The threat which I held out in opening the defence was supposed to mean recrimination; and no doubt it included that. We had abundant evidence of the most unexceptionable kind, which would have proved a strong case against the King; indeed, an unquestionable one of that description.*

* The passage referred to is as follows: "My Lords, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick arrived in this country in the year 1795,—the niece of our sovereign, the intended consort of his heir-apparent, and herself not a very remote heir to the crown of these realms. But I now go back to that period, only for the purpose of passing over all the interval which elapsed between her arrival then and her departure in 1814. I rejoice that, for the present at least, the most faithful discharge of my duty permits me to draw this veil; but I cannot do so without pausing for an instant to guard myself against a misrepresentation to which I know this cause may not unnaturally be exposed, and to assure your Lordships most solemnly, that if I did not think that the cause of the Queen, as attempted to be established by the evidence against her, not only does not require recrimination at present—not only imposes no

But we never could be certain of this proving decisive with both Houses; and it assuredly never would have been sufficient to make the King give up the bill. He knew that all the facts of his conduct with Lady Jersey and others were universally known in society, and he cared little for their being proved at the bar of the Lords. When I said that it might be my painful duty to bring forward what would involve the country in confusion, I was astonished that everybody should have conceived recrimination to be *all* I intended. Possibly their attention was confined to this from nothing but recrimination having ever been hinted at, either by us or our supporters in either House, or by

duty of even uttering one whisper, whether by way of attack or by way of insinuation, against the conduct of her illustrious husband—but that it rather prescribes to me, for the present, silence upon this great and painful head of the case,—I solemnly assure your Lordships, that but for this conviction, my lips on that branch would NOT be closed; for, in discretionally abandoning the exercise of the power which I feel I have, in postponing for the present the statement of that case of which I am possessed, I feel confident that I am waiving a right which I possess, and abstaining from the use of materials which are mine. And let it not be thought, my Lords, that if either now I did conceive, or if hereafter I should so far be disappointed in my expectation that the case against me will fail, as to feel it necessary to exercise that right,—let no man vainly suppose, that not only I, but that any the youngest member of the profession would hesitate one moment in the fearless discharge of his paramount duty. I once before took leave to remind your Lordships—which was unnecessary, but there are many whom it may be needful to remind—that an advocate, by the sacred duty which he owes his client, knows, in the discharge of that office, but one person in the world, THAT CLIENT AND NONE OTHER. To save that client by all expedient means—to protect that client at all hazards and costs to all others, and among others to himself—is the highest and most unquestioned of his duties; and he must not regard the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction, which he may bring upon any other. Nay, separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, and casting them, if need be, to the wind, he must go on reckless of the consequences, if his fate it should unhappily be, to involve his country in confusion for his client's protection!"

the writers who discussed the case in the newspapers; and I was very well satisfied with the mistake, because it was of the last importance that the real ground of defence should be brought forward by surprise; or, at all events, that it should be presented at once in its full proportions, and by a short and clear statement. The ground, then, was neither more nor less than impeaching the King's own title, by proving that he had forfeited the crown. He had married a Roman Catholic (Mrs Fitzherbert) while heir-apparent, and this is declared by the Act of Settlement to be a forfeiture of the crown, "*as if he were naturally dead.*" We were not in possession of all the circumstances as I have since ascertained them, but we had enough to prove the fact. Mrs Fitzherbert's uncle, Mr Errington, who was present at the marriage—indeed it was performed in his house—was still alive; and though, no doubt, he would have had a right to refuse answering a question to which an affirmative answer exposed him to the pains and penalties of a *premunire*, denounced against any person present at such a marriage, it was almost certain that, on Mrs Fitzherbert's behalf, he would have waived the protection, and given his testimony to prove the marriage; but even his refusal would have left the conviction in all men's minds that the marriage had taken place. However, there existed ample evidence, which Errington would undoubtedly have enabled us to produce without the possibility of incurring any penalty whatever. Mrs Fitzherbert was possessed of a will of the Prince in her favour, signed with his own hand, if not written entirely by himself, and in which he calls her his dear wife. I had a copy of this, if not the original, given

me by her favourite, and adopted child, Mrs Dawson Damer, who naturally took a warm interest in defending the memory of her friend and protectress.*

The whole subject of the marriage is discussed in a book of her nephew's, Lord Stourton, and Mr Charles Langdale, but the narrative is far from being distinct. They refer to the papers left in the hands of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Albemarle, and deposited at the bank of Messrs Coutts, and which the Langdales had not the means of obtaining access to, but which *we* should have had by summoning them as witnesses.

It is very remarkable that so important an enactment as one affixing the penalty of the crown's forfeiture should be framed in so clumsy and careless a manner. No means of carrying it into effect are provided; no declaration of the powers by whom the fact is to be ascertained is made; or by what authority the subject is to be absolved from his allegiance, and that allegiance transferred from one to another. It is probable that, if the circumstance occurred, the two Houses of Parliament would, from the necessity of the case, be required to interpose, as in the two precedents of 1788 and 1811 of the Regency. But the statute is altogether silent, and the whole enactment assumes the form of a menace or denunciation. Nevertheless its meaning is clear; the intention is to prevent a Roman Catholic marriage, and to forfeit all right and title in whatever king or heir to the crown contracts such a marriage. The bringing forward, therefore, the marriage with Mrs Fitzherbert, was of necessity the

* See in Lord Holland's 'History of the Whig Party,' vol. i. p. 123, a reference to the deposited documents, whence Lord Holland infers, "the truth that there was such a ceremony is now no matter of conjecture or inference, but of history."

announcement either that the King had ceased to be King, or that the other branches of the Legislature must immediately inquire into the fact of the prohibited marriage, or that there must be a disputed succession, or, in other words, that civil war was inevitable. The bringing forward this case, therefore, must at once have put an end to the bill; and whether that would suffice, depended upon the Duke of York; but the very best that could happen was the abandonment of the bill peaceably, and the King being left with a doubtful title, which his adversaries would not fail to represent as no title at all.

It was, in discussing this question, often contended that the marriage, being illegal, as having been contracted without the royal assent which the Royal Marriage Act requires, there could be no forfeiture, the ceremony being a mere nullity. But all lawyers know that acts of various kinds, both by the laws of England and of Scotland, are followed by forfeiture of the party's rights who commits the acts, as if he were naturally dead, and by the succession of the next heir, the forfeiture being denounced in order to deter from even the attempt to do the thing forbidden, how ineffectual soever that thing may be in itself for any purpose save the incurring the penalty. Indeed, the case of bigamy is precisely of this description. The second wife has no rights whatever; her marriage is a nullity; but she and her pretended husband incur the penalty of felony. When Lord John Russell published Moore's Life—a collection of anecdotes picked up by Moore in private companies, hoarded by him, and left to be published as a provision for his family—there were found, among other things which he had no right

whatever to repeat, a conversation at Denman's table, in which he and Williams and myself took part, as well as Charles Butler, the celebrated conveyancer. The objection was taken which I have mentioned, of the Royal Marriage Act, and was at once disposed of, not only by all of us who had been the Queen's counsel, but clearly and without hesitation by Butler. So far the account is correct; but a gross error is added—namely, that Butler asked me why we did not make the Fitzherbert marriage our defence? and that I answered, Because we had not proof of it. This I never said or could say, for we had well considered it, and knew that we had the means of proving the marriage. Butler took an interest in the subject beyond that of most people, from being a strict Catholic.

The common belief was that the marriage took place on board ship, with the view of avoiding the penalties imposed on those who celebrated it and those who witnessed it. I, many years after the proceeding in the Queen's case, had the most material particulars from Sam Johnes, a clergyman of large preferment, both in the City and in Hertfordshire, where I went to see him from Brocket Hall. He had been one of the Prince's friends, and had promised to perform the ceremony; but as he was walking home from Carlton House, he recollected having some time before given Admiral Payne (another of the Prince's friends) his promise not to do so, the Admiral being anxious to throw all the obstacles he could in the way of what he knew was intended. So the next morning he returned to Pall Mall, saw the Prince, and informed him of his previous promise, and refused to break it. The Prince never forgave him, nor for many years did Mrs Fitz-

herbert; but she afterwards was good-natured about it, and forgave him. He assured me that he knew the date and the place; that it was performed in London, at Errington's (her uncle), as at the time generally supposed, and by a Protestant clergyman, settled in the west of England, whose name Johnes refused to give.*

I never have been able to ascertain what view the King took of my intentions, if driven to it, to bring forward this case. He very possibly persuaded himself that I should not, or that it might be time enough to prevent me when the bill passed.

He of course took a great interest in all that passed in the House of Lords, and was informed from time to time of the proceedings there. Castlereagh attended regularly, and had frequent communication with his colleagues in the House. Canning's friends, as Morley, took part with us, and I generally found that their calculations of the divisions on different questions were correct. The thing which gave most vexation to the King, besides the unfavourable result, was Denman's personal attack, which fixed upon him the name of Nero, which he for a long time conceived to have had a reference to worse crimes than were meant, and which created a personal aversion that prevented his promotion as King's Counsel, not only all through Eldon's chancellorship, but also through Lyndhurst's, when I had been prevailed upon to take rank on account of my juniors, who suffered from my not having it. To me he did not object, but Lyndhurst could not prevail on the King as to Denman. It was the

* All this was fully confirmed by Lord Stourton, who stated to me that two of Mrs Fitzherbert's nearest relatives were present at the ceremony.

Duke of Wellington who accomplished this, but with a full correction of the mistake as to Nero. It was absurd enough that, next to that, the greatest offence given was in my quotation from Milton's description of death—

> "Shape had none,
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb."

No doubt the application was to him, but only for the description of the head—

> "What seemed his head,
> The likeness of a kingly crown had on,"

to show our impression that *he* was the true author of the proceedings. He said I might have at least spared him the attack upon his shape. He was more vain of his person and of his slim figure than of almost anything else; and he said to Lord Donoughmore (Hutchinson's brother), who saw him daily, being a great friend, though not at all one of the Carlton House set, that he thought everybody allowed, whatever faults he might have, that his legs were not as I had described them. It was in vain that Donoughmore tried to convince him of the quotation only referring to the crown. He said he was certain I had heard of his piquing himself on his shape, and that I thought it would plague him to have it held up to ridicule. I must fairly own that this was not my object in giving the whole passage, but the desire, perhaps a childish one, to declaim that magnificent passage, as I had been praised for some declamatory passages in the course of the proceedings. I recollect that the declaiming of this passage was abundantly successful. Creevey said I ought to go upon the stage if Eldon continued to persecute me at the bar. My own belief is that the success was in a

great measure owing to what never entered into my mind at the time—the King's mistake having been shared by the audience.

The division on the second reading was a moment of great anxiety to us, because on the amount of the majority, which we were fully certain would be against us, depended the immediate or postponed fate of the bill. I was standing by Croker on the steps of the throne, he a stout friend of the bill, and I expressed strongly my opinion of the unwise conduct of the Duke of York in supporting it, as likely to revive all the rancour against him of 1809. But Croker, who had taken a very active part in that affair, held it to be clear that the public opinion would, on the success of the bill, come over to the Duke, as it had in his own case, after the proceedings of Wardle and Mrs Clark had so much damaged them; and I candidly admitted to him that there was a great deal in his statement as to these individuals.

We continued conversing while the vote was taken, and on the number being announced, nine, I said, "There is an end of your bill." "Why so?" asked Croker. I answered, "Because the majority is the number of the ministers and high officers in this House, and it won't do to pass such a bill by their votes."

It was announced next day to be withdrawn. I knew that, greatly as the bill had lost its virtue in the King's eyes since the divorce clause was struck out, he continued very anxious for its passing, and was bitterly vexed with the ministers, whom he discovered by many indications to be well satisfied at getting rid of it in any way. Indeed this had long been plain, if it was not from the very first. I remember seeing Eldon

to consider some matter of importance respecting the order of proceeding, and when I said, "You know to a certain extent you and we are in the same boat;" he answered, "So cursed a boat I never was in before, and never shall be again." We knew his indignation at Leach, whom he accused, not without reason, of having been the great promoter of the measure, he having unquestionably been the King's chief counsellor, and taken a most active part in the preliminary proceedings. Eldon's delight was unbounded at Denman's quotation, referring to Leach, "some cogging, cozening knave, to get some office" (the Great Seal being manifestly Leach's object); and he was, if possible, still more delighted with the reception which this passage in Shakespeare had at the theatre the night after, when that play was given, and the audience instantly took it up, applauding loudly. On one occasion Eldon said, with one of his oaths, "he'd have him hanged before he had done with him." Another indication of the feeling against the bill we had, when one day during the trial I happened to go into one of the rooms, where I found Sir Walter Scott and the Duke of Clarence. I immediately drew back, having mistaken the room for our consultation chamber; but the Duke called me in; and good-humoured as he always was, having been somewhat severely attacked by us for the part he took in the secret committee on the papers, he said,—"Of one thing I am quite sure; whatever your client may be in other respects, she is not what you have represented her, a defenceless woman:" in which Sir Walter Scott very courteously agreed, and added how much he wished he had never heard anything of the bill. The Duke having asked him some question

referring to the authorship of the Waverley Novels, he said, "Sir, I must give your Royal Highness the favourite answer of the day, 'Non mi ricordo.'"

The abandonment of the bill put an end to the worst part of the evil which the country had suffered for so long a period. The agitation, which had been very great ever since the Queen's arrival, but excessive since the proceedings in the Lords began, about three months (17th August to 7th November), was now nearly terminated, and very great risks had been escaped. The danger to the peace of the country—in some degree to the monarchy—was at an end. On looking back to that time of anxiety, because of serious hazards in more ways than one, I feel that I had nothing wherewith to reproach myself, and that all had been done that was in my power to prevent any risk from being run. Everything I could do had been done to prevent the Queen from coming over, in redemption of the pledge I had given that no use of her should ever be made for factious purposes. This was fully acknowledged by the Government, as appears by the following letter of Lord Liverpool, written just before the St Omer negotiation:—

"Lord Liverpool presents his compliments to Mr Brougham; he has just received his note, and has only to say in observation upon it, that Mr Brougham may rely upon Lord L. doing full justice to Mr Brougham's conduct in every part of the delicate transaction in which he has been engaged.

"Lord Liverpool has never doubted that it was Mr Brougham's sincere wish to prevent the unpleasant consequences which must arise from the arrival of the

Queen, and that he would be actuated by a due regard to these considerations as far as the professional relation in which he stood to the Queen would permit.

"Lord Liverpool certainly regrets that Mr Brougham's other engagements prevented him from meeting the Queen at Geneva, but he will still hope that he will arrive in time to avert the inconveniences which must result from her Majesty's landing in this country.

"*June* 1, 1820."

But I had gone much further, both for the interests of the country and of the Queen herself, by taking a step in the House of Commons which bid fair to put a stop to the proceedings against her.

Immediately after the King had determined they should be taken, and his servants had submitted, contrary both to their decided opinions and to their public duty, I had announced that if they gave up the bill at once, they were absolutely secure against the loss of their places, because I could pledge the Opposition to refuse taking the Government on their predecessors being dismissed for giving up the bill. Even without a formal authority from the party, I knew that I was safe with them in making this declaration; just as I, nine years after, took upon me to make the same declaration, upon intimation reaching me in the House that, under the Duke of Cumberland's influence, the King had suddenly resolved to resist Catholic Emancipation. He met me, I know, in 1829—and I have every reason to believe also in 1820—with a very cunningly devised movement, by telling the ministers that if they were dismissed, or resigned, he would take in the Opposition, and not require in the one case the bill to be

proceeded with, and in the other the Catholic question to be given up. In both instances this would have removed all objection on our part to taking the Government, and therefore the notice given by him to this effect proved most important to his purpose. It failed in 1829 to accomplish his object; because our movement satisfied the Duke of Wellington, accompanied as it was by a similar declaration on the part of the Canning party (through Huskisson), that a Government could not be formed, we feeling quite certain that the King would not take us in to carry the question. They were, however, for twenty-four hours out of office; and Lyndhurst has often told me of the scene which they had on their half-resignation, half-dismissal, when, among other marks of favour, the King kissed them all round. If the Duke had in 1820 possessed the same weight with his colleagues, and had had the same political experience, his sound and sagacious head would have had the same decisive influence. He would have perceived clearly that the King never could have taken us into his service, and undergone that suffering in addition to taking the bill, so the measure would have been given up. The others believed the King, and therefore went on with the bill to save their Government.

The end of the bill, though it terminated the greatest risks, did not by any means put an end to all ferment, either in Parliament or in the country. The Queen's treatment, and especially the late proceedings, formed the main subjects of discussion in the Commons, and agitation at all public meetings. Wetherall's motion on the omission of her name in the Liturgy—Archibald Hamilton's opposition to the

Address—had a great effect in the Queen's favour; and I can answer for constant resolutions of thanks in various parts of the country, and applications to attend meetings, which all her counsel of course refused. It was with great difficulty that, happening to be at Raby on my way from Brougham at Christmas, I escaped a concourse assembled to congratulate upon the fate of the bill. Grey had the same reception among the Newcastle people. So had Denman and Williams at different places. Carlton House now took the course of filling the press with libels to deter all ladies from visiting the Queen. Papers were established with the avowed purpose of attacking every woman of rank who accepted her invitations. Carlton House was thrown open at the same time to such as refused to visit the Queen; and I hesitate not to declare that this course was perfectly successful, not merely with the women, but also with their male relations, so as, to my certain knowledge, to influence their votes in both Houses. They both were unwilling to expose their wives and sisters to a slanderous press, and averse to losing for them the balls at Carlton House. The Queen bore it all with great patience, and even good-humour. She used to say, "Oh, it is all in the common course. People go to different inns: one goes to the King's Head, another to the Angel." It must be admitted, however, that she did not act with discretion. Difficult as it would have been to avoid all errors in her peculiarly hard position, she was far too free of access, and invited persons to her table who came there for no other purpose than to gossip and laugh at her. Against this she was warned; but, indeed, the reports carefully circulated by her

enemies, that she had formed an acquaintance with certain individuals, should have been warning enough. Of these Lady Oxford was the chief. In 1814 they had put about these reports, and at the time of the rumours confidently asserting her intimacy I can most positively affirm that she had never even seen her. She soon after saw a great deal of her abroad, and was not deterred by the eagerness of the Carlton House set to find that it was so. The same kind of things continually occurred in 1820 and the following spring. She passed her time very uncomfortably, in consequence of constant vexations arising from the scandalous newspapers and the reports in society, most of which were purposely brought to her knowledge, in the hope of wearing her out, and making her again go abroad. Among the tricks practised, there were thefts of her papers and letters, as well as of letters in other people's possession. I recollect one instance of a person in the Duke of York's service, who had been in that of Sir James Graham, and had there picked up a letter of mine giving an account of the difficulty we had in prevailing upon her to attend the great ceremony of her going to St Paul's to return thanks on the bill being defeated. I had observed how false the belief was that she was so fond of popular demonstrations; and I said it was with great difficulty that we could get her to St Paul's. This was put into some person's hands for the purpose of being printed, and of showing how disrespectfully her lawyers talked of her. I do not recollect what the letter called her, but the slander-monger who used it thought it would be the better if a word were added, and he put in "sober," it being one of the many lies told about her that she was given

to drink—a thing which had at no time of her life the shadow of foundation. Lady Charlotte Lindsay was beset by persons to find out the fact respecting this ridiculous charge, and always gave the same answer, as did all her ladies, and Mrs Damer, who lived a great deal with her. It is undeniable that all these vexatious proceedings tended to make her turn her thoughts towards once more travelling; and she had some intentions of visiting Scotland, but upon the whole her thoughts were turned more towards Switzerland and the north of Italy.

It was now determined that the coronation should take place, and till that was over she could not quit London. Her claim was made to be crowned as a right; and the claim being referred to the Privy Council, we were heard before a very crowded meeting, Lord Harrowby, as President, in the chair. The Attorney and Solicitor General attended as assessors to the Council; and there were present to assist, the Chancellor, the Chief Justices, and Chief Baron, and all the other judges who were privy councillors. Denman and I argued the case at the bar for the claim, the Attorney and Solicitor General (Gifford and Copley) against it; and the decision was, that as the Queen was living separate from the King, she had no right to be crowned; and thus it was left to the King to refuse it. This was manifestly a political judgment, entirely influenced by what had taken place the year before; for we showed, by the clearest proofs, that there was no instance whatever of a queen not being crowned, except one, when she was abroad; and another, where there was a difference of religion, and she declined it; but none whatever of a queen-consort not being crowned when

she was within the realm, of the same religion with the king, and willing to be crowned. My own impression was that the lay Lords, not being in office —and even Lord Harrowby, though in office—were inclined to our case; but that the law Lords, including the judges, were against us—those judges who had taken a very decided part against us in the Lords as assessors to the House, and had done themselves as little credit as possible in their answers to the legal questions put to them, the most important of which has been disapproved by all lawyers since, and declared to be erroneous by late statutes—so much so that "the rule in the Queen's case" has been a strong topic of ridicule in the profession.

The coronation then went on; and finding the Queen inclined to appear in the Abbey, we very strongly advised her against any such proceeding. A letter was addressed to her by Denman and myself, protesting against such a step, although she had got a ticket of admission through a friend, who had obtained the Duke of Wellington's order; and the using this was an additional imprudence, which gave rise to much obloquy, not unnaturally. The King, being apprised of her intention, was beyond measure alarmed; and every precaution was taken to prevent her from getting into the Abbey. She was stopped at one gate, and then went to another, where she was again refused admittance; and those very foolish persons who had set her upon this most unwise proceeding now saw that even the mob were against them; for they confined their feeling against the King to a little hissing as he passed, and received the Queen very coldly. The difference between her reception then

and on that wonderful day when she went to St Paul's was very striking. But it must be added that much of the difference and all the failure was owing to herself. We had all told her that she ought not by any means to attempt to enter the Abbey, and gave her many good reasons against it—among others, that the public feeling would not go along with her. But we distinctly said that if she made the attempt, she must do it with her wonted firmness, and that she must make her way into the Abbey if she chose to try it, because, having an order, she could not be stopt when she insisted upon it. Had I known whose order it was, I certainly should have made it an additional ground of refusing my consent to her proceeding. But I only knew it was a valid order, and joined with Denman and one or two of her ladies in saying she must either not make the attempt at all, or must make it so as to succeed. On the contrary, she flinched—I verily believe, for the first time in her life; and instead of insisting on admission at the great gate, she drew back on the refusal, which was made known to those at the other door, and she was entirely defeated. There was some talk of allowing her to enter Westminster Hall and see the banquet, but that she of course refused.

The consequence of this unfortunate day was a severe illness, which she made worse by taking opiates to relieve the great pain she suffered; and it was soon found that there was a most dangerous obstruction. There were hopes, however, of it yielding to the treatment employed, and when I left town for York the prospect of her recovery was favourable. I saw her the day on which I set out, and was with her half an

hour. She spoke very calmly of her case; and when I told her of the satisfactory opinion which I had just heard from her medical men, she said, "Oh no, my dear Mr Brougham, I shall not recover; and I am much better dead, for I be tired of this life."

On my way to York I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

"GRANTHAM, *August* 5, 1821.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As you may be desirous of knowing really how the Queen is, I write this to say that, though she was still in great danger when I left Brandenburgh House yesterday at four o'clock, yet she was better, and had several favourable symptoms. The day before there seemed hardly a chance, but the inflammation had not returned; the pulse was good, both strong and moderate; she had had refreshing sleep, and the stomach quiet. The obstruction still continued, in spite of 35 grains of calomel in her, besides twenty more *supposed* to have been rejected, and castor-oil and jalap, &c., enough to physic a hundred people.

"The two risks she runs are, the obstruction continuing, and inflammation coming on when it is removed; but the pulse is now such that they can easily bleed her again. She lost sixty-four ounces altogether.

"I saw her on Friday night, when she signed her will, and she *seemed* not to be very ill, and her voice and hand were as firm as I ever saw any person's. She said to me that she was quite sure she should die, but did not mind it. However, there was something made me believe she did not at all think so.

"All London was in the greatest hubbub about it, as I learn.—Yours ever, H. B.

"I suppose the King would at first be very glad at her death; but he would soon find how odious it made him."

Two days after I arrived at York I had a letter announcing her death. Indeed the favourable symptoms had disappeared the morning after I saw her, and the first letter I received at York appeared to preclude all hope.

I returned to London to attend the funeral, and I found that Lushington and Wilde, whom she had appointed her executors, had a long interview with her the day before she died. She was then in no pain, mortification having commenced, and she had altogether lost her head. She talked incessantly on every subject for three hours; and it is very remarkable that the only persons she mentioned were the "Petite Victorine," Bergami's child, and the child of Parson Wood, which she had taken one of her fancies for.* While at Hammersmith she had made him her chaplain, and caused Lord and Lady Hood to quit their places of Lord of the Bedchamber and Mistress of the Robes in order to appoint Wood and his wife, who had not the proper rank, and indeed were in all respects unfit for the situation. This is the only bad thing I can recollect of her doing in the management of her household or other affairs, for the Hoods had been most invaluable friends and servants, standing by her through

* Son of the Alderman Wood who had made himself somewhat notorious on the Queen's coming to England in 1820.

all her troubles, and behaving on every occasion with the most admirable delicacy, as well as tact. But she could not control her fancy for Wood's child, which amounted almost to a craze. She would have it brought to play with her, not only at all hours of the day, but even of the night, as she often sat up till a very late hour. This was the cause of her making way for the Woods, just as the Petite Victorine had been the cause of her taking Bergami into her service, and the sailmaker's child at Deptford, who was called Billy Austin, but for whom another was substituted after a few years, the child of one of her ladies in Germany, by Prince Louis of Prussia. She had often mentioned this to Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Mrs Damer, but they supposed it was a jest. However, when Lushington and Wilde went with the funeral to Germany, and one of them presented the other to the general who came to receive the body, and then said, "And here is Mr Austin, of whom you have often heard;" he said, "Yes, I have often heard of Billy Austin, but this is not he: this is the son of my old general, Prince William, and so like him that I at once knew him before you named him." This poor lad, to whom Leach, by his decision in the affair of the Queen's estate, gave a considerable legacy, became a good-for-nothing person, and after going to Italy, where he lived near Victorine, then respectably married to an Italian count, became deranged, and died in a lunatic asylum.

The funeral was attended by most of those in town who had been the Queen's friends. I took Sir Robert Wilson to Hammersmith, where she lay in state, and from whence the procession took place. His son

Henry, who had been one of her equerries, was in the carriage with us. The King had gone to Ireland, and ministers, having no orders, except to prevent all honour being paid, and if possible to prevent the procession from marching through the City, acted upon their own notions of fulfilling his intentions, and turned out the troops to obstruct our passage. An attempt was made by us at Kensington to move round the Palace, and so reach Oxford Street, as we were told that we must not go by Piccadilly. But they prevented us, and obliged us to go through Hyde Park, intending to turn us at Apsley House, and so oblige us to go by the New Road. We told them distinctly that the funeral must pass through the City. Nothing occurred till we got near Apsley House, where the crowd was very great. The hearse was allowed to pass, and turned into the Park Lane direction by the soldiery. They then tried to stop us, but we went on notwithstanding: I heard firing, and one or two bullets whistled past us. On the first noise I asked Wilson what it was: "Oh," said he, "it is a noise you are not used to; we are in fire." Then said I, "We must get out of it; but perhaps we should do so as soon by going on." He said, "Certainly we should not be one whit worse than if we turned round." So we went forward. Only Wilson got out and told the officer commanding who we were, and that we belonged to the procession. After a shot or two more, this was effectual, and we escaped without hurt, though one of the bullets struck the carriage. We then got into Oxford Street, and found it crowded by troops, who made us turn into one of the streets leading to the New Road, the great object being to prevent us from getting into the City. However, we

made the procession go at a round pace, so as to be there before the soldiery could come up; and this was the more easy because the New Road was nearly empty, while the parallel streets were extremely crowded. We then got down the street that slants towards St Paul's, and were soon in the Churchyard. The crowd was enormous, and furious at the appearance of the soldiery. As we moved slowly through it, several officers, not much liking their situation in the crowd, came up to our carriage and entered into conversation with us, manifestly thinking that their being seen to be friends would make things easier with the mob, which it did; for those officers were not at all maltreated, as many of the others were. We at length got clear of the City, and went as far as Ilford in Essex, on the Harwich road. We then returned to London, and I can answer for Wilson having been at no meeting, or indeed anywhere but at Brookes's and his own house. For whatever meetings there were, all were over long before he left me at Brookes's, where he remained till midnight. His dismissal from the army was grounded, therefore, on an utterly false pretence. I was to start early next morning, to overtake the funeral before it arrived at Chelmsford. I found it had just arrived, and it was deemed proper that the coffin should be conveyed to the church; but the authorities there objected, and Lushington had to call for the interposition of the magistrates to overcome the religious scruples of the clergy. Next morning it proceeded to Harwich at a continued rapid rate, there being the strictest orders sent from Dublin that the embarkation must be over before the arrival of the King, which was fixed for the next day. On arriving at Harwich we found

everything ready prepared for immediate embarkation. The scene was such as I never can forget, or reflect upon without emotion. The multitudes assembled from all parts of the country were immense, and the pier crowded with them, as the sea was covered with boats of every size and kind, and the colours of the vessels were half-mast high, as on days of mourning. The contrast of a bright sun with the gloom on every face was striking, and the guns firing at intervals made a solemn impression. One of the sights, however, which most struck me, was a captain in the royal navy, who sat on the pier, and could not be persuaded to leave it; he was deeply affected, and wept exceedingly. Having been in her service, and employed then, and ever since, in dispensing her charities, he could not tear himself away; but being refused his earnest request of accompanying her remains to Brunswick, he was resolved to witness the embarkation. The crimson coffin slowly descended from the pier, and the barge that conveyed it bore the flag of England, floating over "*Caroline of Brunswick, the murdered Queen of England,*" the inscription directed by herself, and the justice of which was felt by the thousands who had indignantly seen the indecent haste of the funeral procession from London, and who felt their share in a kind of national remorse, as well as commiseration, for all that had passed.

I rejoined the circuit at York; and having now lost my official rank, there was a wish on the part of the circuit, as well as of the Midland (Denman's), to waive their precedence and allow us to retain ours. Sergeant Hullock was understood to have objected, and the plan failed. When Dunning in 1769 lost his official

rank, and, not having any other, returned behind the bar, Lord Mansfield announced that he should call upon him after those who had precedence; and the bar intimated that they had intended to propose the same thing had the Chief Justice not anticipated them.* Dunning had not held his official rank longer than we had ours. The injury to my seniors was very great of the rank being refused by the Crown, from the personal hatred of the King and the timidity of Eldon. Several men were nearly thrown out of practice, because, being my seniors, they could not hold junior briefs with me. In Denman's case a remedy was afforded by the City of London choosing him their Common Sergeant. Lord Tenterden was not the man to apply a remedy as Mansfield had done in Dunning's case, though certainly Dunning was as much as possible opposed politically to Mansfield, and showed as little deference to him professionally. But Tenterden recollected the preceding year, and well knew the King's personal antipathy both to Denman and myself. This spite of the King's, so well seconded by Eldon's want of nerve and the shabbiness of the other legal authorities, was very distressing in its consequences; and I felt it strongly, though of course I had no hand in it; but others, and not myself, were really the sufferers. My practice recovered rapidly, and in one year I made in a stuff gown above £7000: so that in 1827, when pressed to take the rank so long withheld, I at first declined; but it was urged on account of others, and I consented. While my exclusion continued, it was

* In 1768 he had been appointed Solicitor-General in Lord Shelburne's first Administration. He resigned this office on the change of ministry in 1769.

most painful to see men whom I had known in good business sitting behind empty bags, almost briefless, owing to the accident of their being my seniors. It was quite inexcusable in Eldon, who knew all these things, to make himself the instrument of the King's caprice and revenge.

The Queen had always been extremely averse to prosecutions for libel, a subject which she had many occasions to consider fully during the proceedings in 1806, the disputes in 1813 and 1814, and the later trial in the Lords, if trial it could be called, which outraged all justice both in form and substance. She was aware that nothing could be less satisfactory than our law as regarded the offences of the press; she was satisfied that, according to the proceedings in England in cases of libel, a person slandered, besides incurring much anxiety and vexation, inevitably gives, if he prosecutes, greater publicity and circulation to the slander, and enables the defence to add force to the calumnies. All this was likely in her case to gratify her enemies, and so prosecuting would be playing their game. When, therefore, we were discussing before her the question of prosecuting the perjured witnesses on the bill, she could with difficulty be brought to consider the matter seriously, so strong was her opinion against such proceedings; and she was well satisfied to find that technical difficulties made it hardly possible to proceed against them. There was one case, however, in which these difficulties did not exist, and it was on every account absolutely necessary to make the exception. A clergyman of the Established Church had preached a sermon of the grossest slander upon the Queen's going to St Paul's to return thanks for her

deliverance; and I moved for and obtained, as her Attorney-General, a rule for a criminal information.* She was very anxious to make the affidavit to the falsehood of the charges usual in all such applications to the court, but upon precedents being searched, it was found that a Queen-Consort makes no such affidavit, but has the prerogative of moving by her Attorney-General, and no affidavit could be received. Her death happened before the trial, which took place at Lancaster, Mr Justice Holroyd presiding, and I was of course the counsel for the prosecution; Blacow defending himself in a long and rambling abuse of everybody as well as the Queen, in answer to my speech of less than ten minutes, which was as follows:

"May it please your Lordship, gentlemen of the jury,—It is my painful duty to bring before you the particulars of this case; it is yours to try it; and my part shall be performed in a very short time indeed; for I have little, if anything, more to do than merely to read what I will not characterise by words of my own; but I will leave to you, and I may leave to every man whose judgment is not perverted and whose heart is not corrupt, to affix the proper description to the writing, and his fitting character to the author. I will read to you what the defendant composed and printed; and I need do no more. You have heard from my learned friend,—and if you still have any doubt, it will soon be removed,—to whom the following passage applies. Of the late Queen it is that the passage is written and published. It is in these words:—

"'The term "cowardly," which they have now laid to my charge, I think you will do me the justice to

* See Speeches, i. 289 *et seq.*

say, does not belong to me; that feeling was never an inmate of my bosom; neither when the Jacobins raged around us with all their fury, nor in the present days of Radical uproar and delusion. The latter, indeed, it must be allowed, have one feature about them even more hideous and disgusting than the Jacobins themselves. They fell down and worshipped the Goddess of Reason, a most respectable and decent sort of being compared with that which the Radicals have set up as the idol of *their* worship.

"'They have elevated the Goddess of Lust on the pedestal of shame—an object of all others the most congenial to their taste, the most deserving of their homage, the most worthy of their adoration. After exhibiting her claims to their favour in two distinct quarters of the globe; after compassing sea and land with her guilty paramour, to gratify to the full her impure desires, and even polluting the Holy Sepulchre itself with her presence, to which she was carried in mock majesty astride upon an ass,—she returned to this hallowed soil so hardened in sin, so bronzed with infamy, so callous to every feeling of decency or shame, as to go on Sunday last'—here, gentlemen, the reverend preacher alluded, not to the public procession to St Paul's, where her late Majesty returned thanks for her delivery, or to other processions which might, partly at least, be considered as political, but to her humble, unaffected, pious devotions in the church of Hammersmith,—'to go on Sunday last, clothed in the mantle of adultery, to kneel down at the altar of that God who is "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," when she ought rather to have stood barefooted in the aisle, covered with a shirt as white as "unsunned snow,"

doing penance for her sins. Till this had been done, I would never have defiled my hands by placing the sacred symbols in hers; and this she would have been compelled to do in those good old days when Church discipline was in pristine vigour and activity.'

"Gentlemen, the author of this scandalous, this infamous libel, is a minister of the gospel. The libel is a sermon—the act of publication was preaching it—the place was his church—the day was the Sabbath—the audience was his flock. Far be it from me to treat lightly that office of which he wears the outward vestments, and which he by his conduct profanes. A pious, humble, inoffensive, charitable minister of the gospel of peace is truly entitled to the tribute of affection and respect which is ever cheerfully bestowed. But I know no title to our love or our veneration which is possessed by a meddling, intriguing, unquiet, turbulent priest, even when he chooses to separate his sacred office from his profane acts; far less when he mixes up both together—when he refrains not from polluting the sanctuary itself with calumny—when he not only invades the sacred circle of domestic life with the weapons of malicious scandal, but enters the hallowed threshold of the temple with the torch of slander in his hand, and casts it flaming on the altar; poisons with rank calumnies the air which he especially is bound to preserve holy and pure—making the worship of God the means of injuring his neighbour, and defiling by his foul slanders the ears, and by his false doctrines perverting the minds, and by his wicked example tainting the lives, of the flock committed by Christ to his care!

"Of the defendant's motives I say nothing. I care

not what they were, for innocent they could not be. I care not whether he was paying court to some patron, or looking up with a general aspect of sycophancy to the bounty of power, or whether it was mere mischief and wickedness, or whether the outrage proceeds from sordid and malignant feelings combined, and was the base offspring of an union not unnatural, however illegitimate, between interest and spite. But be his motives of a darker or lighter shade, innocent they could not have been; and unless the passage I have read proceeded from innocency, it would be a libel on you to doubt that you will find it a libel.

"Of the illustrious and ill-fated individual who was the object of this unprovoked attack I forbear to speak. She is now removed from such low strife, and there is an end, I cannot say of her checkered life, for her existence was one continued scene of suffering, of disquiet, of torment, from injustice, oppression, and animosity—by all who either held or looked up to emolument or aggrandisement—all who either possessed or coveted them; but the grave has closed over her unrelenting persecutions. Unrelenting I may well call them, for they have not spared her ashes. The evil passions which beset her steps in life have not ceased to pursue her memory, with a resentment more relentless, more implacable, than death. But it is yours to vindicate the broken laws of your country. If your verdict shall have no effect on the defendant—if he still go on unrepenting and unabashed—it will at least teach others, or it will warn them and deter them from violating the decency of private life, betraying sacred public duties, and insulting the majesty of the law."*

* The jury found him guilty, without a moment's hesitation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE QUEEN —CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION — ANOTHER CONTEST FOR WESTMORLAND—STATE OF PARTIES—MINISTERIAL DIFFICULTIES—QUESTION OF THE WHIGS COMING IN—EARL GREY'S VIEWS—THE DUKE OF SUSSEX — PROSPECT OF A CANNING ADMINISTRATION—HIS POSITION WITH THE PRINCE AND LORD ELDON —PERSONAL MATTERS—REASONS FOR DEMANDING A PATENT OF PRECEDENCE—STATE OF SPAIN—COMMERCIAL CRISIS OF 1825—LORD HOWICK—JOSEPH HUME—CANNING'S MINISTRY —SPECULATIONS ON A COALITION—TENDER OF OFFICE—SYDNEY SMITH—DEATH OF CANNING AND ACCESSION OF GODERICH—THE WELLINGTON MINISTRY—OPENING OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE—IRELAND AND THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—DUEL BETWEEN SIR ALEXANDER BOSWELL AND MR STEWART.

THE unworthy conduct of the Government of George IV., in acting as the ministers of the King's vengeance against Queen Caroline, had not only tended to lower the character of public men in the eyes of the country, but had weakened the Administration, the leading members of which were looked upon as men who preferred place to character. The bitterness of political animosities was by no means lessened by the death of the victim. The hatred of the King, and contempt for the men who had so disgracefully submitted to be his tools, continued as strong as ever. A Government so circumstanced was powerless to do

good, either by originating or supporting measures for the common weal. Whatever glimpses of prosperity might appear in England, Ireland was always in the background to darken the horizon. Catholic Emancipation appeared as far off as ever; for although Canning, opposing the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, still had the Catholic question much at heart, he, as a member of the Liverpool Cabinet, either could not or would not move in it, and emancipation appeared to be hopeless.

I had for many years been convinced that the best if not only hope of having that question carried, was the union between Canning and the leading Whigs. I was persuaded that such an union would do much to disunite and finally to break up the Tory party. I felt this strongly on public grounds, and I felt it notwithstanding the many well-founded objections I had ever avowed to Canning as a public man. I vainly attempted to bring Lord Grey to my way of thinking. But his aversion on political grounds to Canning was insurmountable. This dislike was, as he himself used to call it, "rooted." In the course of a very long and unusually intimate friendship, the arguments I used, and the decided part I took, to promote a junction with Canning, was the cause of the only serious difference I ever had with Grey: if we were separated for a time, the coolness did not last; for Grey, with his usual fairness and candour, gave me credit for the perfectly unselfish motives which had actuated me; and not very long after the Canning Government was formed, we were as firm friends as ever. After the Queen's death, from time to time there was an expectation that the Government, from

inherent weakness and the well-known disagreement between Canning and Peel, might any day break up; and many were the speculations such hopes gave rise to. Some of these will appear in the correspondence which follows.

In 1825 the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was passed by the House of Commons.*

Parliament was dissolved in 1826, when for the third time I stood for Westmorland; and, after a hard-fought contest, was again defeated. I have no wish to enter into the local politics of that county, but I cannot resist quoting an extract from a letter of my esteemed friend Bishop Bathurst to Mr Howard of Corby, by whose kindness I am enabled to give it.

TO HENRY HOWARD, ESQ., CORBY CASTLE.

"NORWICH, *July* 10, 1826.

"DEAR MR HOWARD,—The very deep interest which I have uniformly taken for so many years in that great question, the emancipation of the Catholics, upon which depend, in no trifling degree, not only the peace and prosperity of Ireland, but also that real cordial goodwill between persons of all religious denominations in England, which is so much to be desired, makes me anxious to know what will be the probable result in the new Parliament of the many contested elections which have engaged the public attention. This information you will probably have it in your power to give me, and I shall make no apology for the liberty I take in requesting you to do so.

* The second reading on the 21st April by a majority of 27; the third on the 10th of May by a majority of 21. Canning spoke at some length on the 21st April. He was very ill from gout, and took no further part in the debate, being for many weeks confined to the house.

"Mr Brougham has struggled nobly for civil and religious liberty, and is fully entitled to the celebrated eulogy bestowed by Lucan upon Cato—

'Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed Victa Catoni.'

How others may feel I know not, but for my own part I would much rather be in his situation than in that of his two victorious opponents; notwithstanding the cold discouraging maxim of Epictetus, which is calculated to check every virtuous effort—

Ἀνίκητος εἶναι δύνασαι, ἐὰν εἰς μηδενὰ ἀγῶνα καταβαίνῃς, ὃν οὐκ εστιν ἐπί σοι νικῆσαι.*

"He will not, I hope, suffer from his exertions, extraordinary in every way: I respect exceedingly his fine abilities, and the purpose to which he applies them.

. . . . . .

"Remember me kindly to Mrs Howard and your son, and believe me sincerely your affectionate and obliged HENRY NORWICH."

As Cato owed Lucan's panegyric to the firmness he had shown in adhering to the losing cause, and to his steadfastness to the principles he had adopted, so I considered the Bishop's application of the lines to me as highly complimentary.

TO EARL GREY.

"*February* 14, 1822.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I do assure you that nothing could exceed the success of last night unless we had

* You may be invincible if you never go down into the arena when you are not secure of victory.—Enchiridion, c. xxv.

actually beaten them.* Never was a better speech, I might even say a finer one, than Wilson's. The *judgment* of it was perfect; it could not have been materially improved in point of discretion by any man in the House or at the bar. But Palmerston's total failure no words can describe.

"I never had a doubt of Wilson's case since I sifted it last autumn; but one never can tell the accidents that may happen, and indeed the lies that may be got up; but to do the enemy justice, they did not even attempt an insinuation; so that one feels very comfortable now it has gone so safe through the fire.

"Pray tell Lord F. this, with my best remembrances, for I know how much it will gratify him.—Yours ever, H. B.

"I have just heard from undoubted authority that Castlereagh says Wilson made one of the best and most judicious speeches he ever heard, and which had produced the greatest effect."

"*Saturday*, 1822.

"My dear Lord Grey,†—You now have Castlereagh's plan at full length, but I don't think any reports *can* give you, who know him, an idea of the *style* of his speech: he exceeded himself—*Quid plura?* I positively assure you that he spoke of the '*resurrection of malt.*'. The House laughed at him sometimes for five minutes at a time, and he was much annoyed.

* On the motion respecting the removal of Sir Robert Wilson from the army.—See Hansard, 1822, vol. vi., second series.

† This seems to refer to the speech of Lord Londonderry, of 29th April 1822, on "Agricultural distress, and the financial and other measures for its relief;" among these was the celebrated "sliding scale" of grain duties.—See Hansard, 150.

However, he got over it fairly as to matter, and had some success at the end. His wretched plan, I find, satisfies Gooch, Chaplin, and one or two more; but the bulk of the landed interest I do not believe to be so. Wortley, of course, is with him. Lethbridge, Woodhouse, and Shelley, I know, will vote against him. Althorpe is to give notice on Monday for Thursday, and they really must then be brought to a division. Peel *jibbed* last night. He was to answer me, and continued in that state almost the whole time I spoke; but then he left it to Huskisson, who answered what I had said on *Monday last.* I don't suppose *now* there is any one doubts the expediency of Monday, except Tierney, who is against reducing taxes. But I wonder how you who know the House could doubt for a moment, for you must be aware that in answering to a speech opening a plan, no man living can give another speech opening a different view. He won't be listened to for a moment, and *must,* whether he will or no, as I did last night, grapple with the speech immediately preceding.

"Pray remember me to all at Woburn.—Believe me, &c., H. Brougham."

"Lancaster, *August* 29, 1822.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I suppose you hear various rumours of Canning. Though we are here nearer the spot, we cannot tell for certain (indeed he cannot himself) what he means to do. He was at Bolton's last week, where the leaders on the circuit dine on their way here. I had not been there for some years, Bolton being a violent Lowtherite, and I hating his company. But I was asked this year if I

should object to meeting Canning there; and I said, on the contrary, I should be very glad to see him again before he went to India. So I went, as I used to do formerly. We had a great deal of conversation together on Castlereagh's death, and he really talked very properly with the right degree of feeling, and *no sort of cant or overdoing*. He said that the King certainly discovered Castlereagh's madness on the Friday, and said he would destroy himself. There was a tone in his speaking of the King that seemed particularly bitter. I should say he plainly showed, and meant to show, that he felt the King to be his personal enemy.

"But if they ask him to stay, I take it for granted he will, though it would be a very foolish thing; for they can't agree with him long, and he is likely to be turned out a year hence, and not be able to go to India then. Scarlett (who knows him much better than I do) had a long talk with him about his own plans, and he said he had not had the least communication on the subject—this was on the 20th—and that if he had, he should only prefer remaining here out of deference to his friends, and from public duty. In other words, he expected a communication, and was resolved to accept it if it was at all possible. Since that time he must have heard something, for they say that at Liverpool he has been saying, 'if the King sent for him,' 'if he went to India,' &c.; which looks as if Lord L. had written to him, and he only waited for the King agreeing to the project. For my part, I cannot easily believe in the King letting him in; and it is at least clear the Chancellor must go if he does. To be sure, it would be too good to have Peel in the

situation, with Bragge and Vansittart and Goulburn to back him. But next best to that will be Canning, with his unpopularity both out of doors and in, and all the cabals he will give rise to. If the Chancellor, too, is to go out, I hardly know whether they won't lose more upon the whole by having him.

"Scarlett is strongly impressed, from a conversation he had with Lord Lonsdale, with the notion that the ministers cannot well go on, now that Castlereagh is dead. Lord Lonsdale represented Castlereagh as the only one of them who had any hold over the King. There may be something in this; but I consider the *Duke of York* to be in reality the link with the King. Indeed he is more the King than anything else, and we ought perhaps to let this be talked of as the only way of opening the King's eyes.—Believe me ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

To this letter I received from Lord Grey the following answer:—

"HOWICK, *Aug.* 30, 1822.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter from Lancaster yesterday. The account you give of Canning confirms the opinion I had previously formed at the end of the session, that if a new writ was not moved for Liverpool, it seemed clear that he wished to remove all the chances of a change in his destination; and his language now, added to what must obviously be the wish of his friends, convinces me that if a fair proposal is made to him, he will not hesitate much in abandoning the prospects of a fortune in India for those of power at home. Whether he will make a good calculation in doing so, remains

to be seen; but when, in balancing all that may be taken into the account on each side, we find on one, banishment from his country, an abandonment of the stage for which his talents are best calculated, separation from his friends and his connections, and the danger to his health at his age in a hot climate, I confess I for one shall not be surprised at such a decision.

"Neither do I think his game so bad as you seem to imagine, always supposing his objects to be personal, and not public. He has undergone a longer exclusion from office than he intended; and if he comes in now, I have no doubt he will be careful how he quarrels again with his new colleagues. They, on the other hand, however they may dislike his admission, when they feel the necessity of his support, will go considerable lengths to obtain and to secure it. In this I include the Chancellor himself, whose resentments are not so strong as his love of office; and my speculation therefore is that he will be brought into an office in the Administration, and that he will retain it longer than you seem to imagine. His greatest danger will be from himself. He has not hitherto been able to bear prosperity; and when the lead of the House of Commons falls, as it must do (whether given to him ostensibly or not), into his hands, if things go on tolerably well, he may perhaps ride his colleagues a little too hard. But I think it more probable that the lessons he has received will have taught him self-respect and moderation.

"If this arrangement takes place, my belief is that the Administration will be as secure as it was with Londonderry. If, on the contrary, it is to be a pure Court and Tory, with Peel the leader in the House of

Commons, unless a very great improvement takes place in our affairs, and Peel turns out to be a much more efficient man than anything I have heard of him —for I know nothing of him myself—gives me every reason to suppose him to be,—it seems not impossible that the Government may break up from absolute inability to surmount the difficulties with which it is surrounded.

"In any case, Lord Lonsdale's opinion that it cannot go on may *possibly* turn out to be the true one; and however improbable such an event may appear, it certainly is *possible* that some negotiation may be opened with the Opposition; and the bare possibility requires that, in prudence, we should be prepared for it. With regard to principles and measures, there could be no difficulty as far as you and I are concerned; our duty is plain and obvious: and with regard to others, I should hope not more so, except, perhaps, on the simple question of Parliamentary reform; with respect to which I should think it necessary, if the Government was proposed to *me*, to stipulate for some plan on a moderate principle, with a pledge to resist anything more. But there is a difficulty behind, or rather one which presents itself in the first place; and that is, How is a Government to be formed in the House of Commons, and who is to lead it? This question, I feel, can be answered by *you* alone; on *you* must depend, in the first degree, the efficiency of any Administration that can be formed, in whatever situation you might be placed; and it is upon this that I hope you will not be unwilling to state to me confidentially and explicitly what your views and wishes are, under the assurance that they cannot be

deposited more safely, or stated to any person whose disposition would lead him more cordially, as far as he had power, to assist and to promote them.

"Considering the present state of the country, and our particular situation in it, it seems almost absurd to be entering into such a discussion at present; and it would really be so to form any sanguine expectation that it will be forced upon us by such an event as I have supposed just possible; but your letter has led me to think a good deal on the subject, which Londonderry's death had necessarily brought under my contemplation, and I could not help expressing to you my feelings upon it.

"You, of course, have had accounts of all the gaieties and all the absurdities of Edinburgh.* Rosslyn was never asked to Dalkeith. What is the cause of the incivility of the King to him, of which this is not the first instance? By the way, he tells me, from the information of a man who was secretary to his uncle, and who is now in the Treasury, that the arrangement talked of in the offices is: Bathurst, Foreign Secretary; Peel, Colonial; Van.,† Home; Huskisson, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"This would be too good, though they would gain some strength in Huskisson; but then the character of the Administration, completely anti-Catholic and Duke of York, who would then be in reality King, must very soon produce difficulties, both with respect to public measures and in the cabals of the Court, which would make it quite impossible for the Administration to go on in that form.

* In reference to the visit by George IV. to Scotland.
† Vansittart.

"His Majesty passed us this morning about five o'clock, with a fair wind, and, if it continues, will probably reach the river to-morrow night; so that we probably shall soon be in possession of something more certain as to the new arrangements.

"I am sorry I cannot give you a good account of Lady Grey; she has not improved as I expected.

"The Duke of Sussex is now at Lambton, and is to be here on the 4th. It is in vain, I am afraid, to ask you to come here—I do not mean at that time, though you would be of the greatest use to us, but at any time before you return to town. If Thanet comes to Appleby, why should you not take a trip across the hills together?—Ever yours, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *Monday, Sept.* 3, 1822.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—First as to Canning: I am more and more confident that they will not have him. I think his language at Liverpool, now that we see it in an authentic form (evidently written by himself), indicates his soreness and despair, as well as his readiness to stay if they would allow him. But the King, I verily believe, had just as lief see Denman or myself near his person. I think I know from good authority that there was quite a *scène* between them, and *loud* altercation. Now royal folks don't easily forget such things. Then the tone of all courtiers is very decisive; they have a kind of instinctive feeling that he cannot come in, else they would never talk as they do. Auckland (who is here) saw the Lowthers the other day. They speak even contemptuously of Canning. Holme Sumner said to

Duncannon that the ministry were lost if they took him. But his own manner and language are enough. I agree with you that there is a *chance* of his being more tractable if he once got in; but his part would be very ticklish.

"Your account of Lord Rosslyn not having been asked to Dalkeith surprises me, rather because I saw the contrary in all the newspapers than because it is unlikely; for certainly he is far from popular with the Court. I have all along noted this, and ascribed it to their annoyance that a soldier and a Court-bred man—that is, one connected with old Loughborough—should have turned out so very little of a courtier. It is just possible that Lady Mary's connection with the Princess of GLOSTER may have tended the same way.*

"Now, with regard to the POSSIBLE event (as it certainly is) of either now, or some months hence, a negotiation being begun, I quite agree that you do most perfectly right to be considering it, in order that you may not be taken unprepared. Of course you will be on your guard against their accustomed trick of insincere overtures, in order to put you in the wrong, and have a pretext for telling the Parliament and country that the weakness of the Government is not their fault; and will, if it is to go off, take care it shall do so upon clear, high, and, above all, intelligible grounds, requiring no refinement, and, if possible, not on any point of *constitutional etiquette*, which the people are stupid enough not to apprehend, and, I fear, wrong enough not to value if they did. I would

* Lady Mary Erskine, Lord Rosslyn's sister, was Lady to the Princess Sophia of Gloster.

fain hope with you that we *are all* pretty well agreed as to essentials—namely, Catholic question and Irish tithes, and boldly putting down that vile Orange junta, who are not formidable in reality; maintaining existing treaties, and favouring the Bourbons as against republicans and Bonapartists, but leaning against the Ultras; and though refusing any Greek or other crusades, yet strenuously resisting all interference from the other side, of the Holy Alliance; and though not taking any part in the internal policy of South America, Spain, &c., yet losing no time to recognise the new governments, and establish commercial intercourse with them. My belief is, that the foreign questions would be more troublesome with the Court, and especially the King, than reform itself; as to which, the main thing would be to obtain something as a part of the arrangement; but, if possible, to avoid being pledged to resist all further reform, because that would place us, from almost the first, in the front rank of anti-reformers. Much credit will justly be acquired by some other stipulations, as remission of a few bad taxes, repealing some of the silly and obnoxious laws against the press, taking the fixed resolution of putting down, by *nolle prosequi*, all prosecutions for libel by societies, revising the criminal law and some other parts of the law, abolishing flogging, &c.

"As to the detail, I am very anxious that no discussion should, for the present, be had as to casting of parts, because I *know* most positively what mischief it always does. The speculations at Holland House (which are mere gossip, after all) get out in less than twenty-four hours; and half-a-dozen of our friends are enraged at being left out, and as many more at

the parts assigned to them. They run about open-mouthed, and cry down the whole party, and scout the idea of any change; and thus not only are we laughed at, but the Court takes courage, and no proposition is made—which makes the Cabinet-making look still more ridiculous. For this reason, and still more for others, I really wish Tierney were out of town and of the reach of Charles Long at this moment, for he will inevitably propagate his standing article of faith—that the Opposition have numbers enough, but can't carry on the Government in the House of Commons for want of men to take leading stations—as if even our *second* and *third* rates could not, IF IN OFFICE, sink such as Bragge, Peel, Van., &c. But though these considerations and the recollection of former occasions make me dread any *talk* of arrangements, it is quite fit that *you* should be aware of how matters would stand. Suppose everything else settled—and I can most confidently answer for our being able to do as we please, almost in Opposition, but completely if in office—the only puzzle would be the choice of a nominal leader; and really I can't see why Tierney might not go on, taking it just as easily as he chose. It needs not give him a moment's trouble. He would have in office Mackintosh and Calcraft and Newport—all very efficient in their several lines. Althorpe, too, would become of very considerable use, and John Russell. But the law officers, Scarlett and Denman, would be a host. I cannot fancy those places more effectively filled, and for all purposes of debate; for Scarlett *in office* would be perfectly well listened to, and carry great weight. Then, as for myself, the point to which you particu-

larly allude, there is certainly some little difficulty; for I could on no account give up my profession. Indeed it would not be justifiable; and I feel that there are serious disadvantages in one who must of necessity take a very forward and constant part in all debates not being officially connected with the Government. But, on the other hand, this arrangement is not without its advantages, for it gives the best prospect of keeping our friends of the Mountain in proper relations of peace and amity, and it certainly will make my support more effectual with the House generally. I think, too, that it will smooth one of your roughest places—viz., Lambton; for there might be difficulties in at once putting him where he ought one day to be, and he would not like any subordinate position. But I would fain hope that if he saw me mixed up with the whole as a strenuous supporter, and yet holding no office, he would take the same line; and I conceive that one or two other difficulties of the same kind might in like manner be got over. I ought to add, that in case the entire omission of Denman *at first*, as well as myself, in the supposed negotiation, might be advisable in order to remove difficulties with the King, I can take upon myself to say that he would be the first to desire it; but, on all accounts, this omission *of him* should, if possible, be avoided; and, if necessary, it should only be for the present. In that I see no reason to alter the view I took two years ago in a similar discussion.—Ever most truly yours, H. B.

"I wish to God I could come over to you now; but I am detained here both by people in the house and

by others whom I expect. I hope to get over to Raby to meet the Duke."

The resolution expressed in this letter led to the following from Lord Grey:—

"HOWICK, *September* 5, 1822.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM, — I received your letter yesterday. To begin, as you do, with Canning. I agree with you as to the character of his speeches. They indicate, I think, no great hope; but they show, at least in an equal degree, a strong desire to take every chance of power at home, by the use of every topic best calculated to recommend him to the powerful Tories, to the ministers, and to the Court, even to the extent of an offer of compromise upon the Catholic question. And I still think he will succeed. He says he had not suspended his preparations for going to India; but the very post before I read this, I received a letter from my brother, to say that he had just heard from Captain Westphal that Canning had put off embarking till the middle of October. Captain Westphal is captain of the Jupiter, the ship that Canning is to go in to India; and this information interests me, as I have a son appointed a midshipman to that ship. Now as to *possibilities;* and first as to measures. These, in the first instance, should be only generally described. I could have no share in any Government that was not founded on a change of system, both at home and abroad.

"If we come to details, there are more things to be specified than you advert to; but this, if our principle was admitted, it would not be necessary to do very

particularly till a Government was formed. On two points I do not quite agree with you. I should feel it absolutely indispensable to act avowedly upon a system of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and particularly of France; I should therefore have nothing to do with the Bourbons, either as to Republicans or Ultras.

"With respect to Greece, it must be *alors comme alors;* but I should incline very much to favour the revolution, as far as it could be done without engaging in a war; and viewing the destruction of the Turkish Empire as inevitable within no long period, and a thing most desirable in itself, it ought, I think, to be the policy of this Government to establish an influence in the new order of things which might prevent the too great ascendancy of Russia. But these are subjects too large to be discussed in the hurry in which I am now writing.

"As to constitutional etiquette, I agree with you that all points of that kind ought, if possible, to be avoided. But that is not always in our power. In Moira's affair we had a very pretty quarrel as it stood, when Erskine, in his desire at that time to get in, brought on the negotiation again; and I was driven either to break off, on the point of the Household, or on Moira's being First Minister, which would have been worse, as it would have appeared quite personal, though I am sure you will allow that no man in his senses would have embarked in a *galère* so commanded.

"Now as to arrangements. Certainly nothing could be more disadvantageous, or even more absurd, than to be discussing them at this moment. But that

single point—viz., the management of the House of Commons—is one which we must consider betimes, if we look at any possibility of our being called upon to undertake the Administration.

"After thinking much upon the subject, I am satisfied that the lead there must *really and effectively*, if not nominally, be in your hands; and this it can only be by your being a member of the Government. I should be the last man to advise you to give up the splendid, and, what is more, the certain, advantages which you must command in your profession. No advantage to a new Government could justify me in urging such a sacrifice. But it is not necessary. Lord Mansfield, Thurlow, and Wedderburn, were all in succession the chief supports of the Administration with which they were connected. But in office you must be, or the Government, I am persuaded, could not go on. Nobody disapproves more than I do—though I am not sure I may not at times have fallen into that error myself—the language of those who talk of the impossibility of forming an Administration in the House of Commons. When we consider who have been ministers for the last fifteen years, it is really a libel on our party, and even on the House of Commons itself. But if you adhere to your present decision, it will be language which, though I may not hold it, I must acknowledge to be true. I will not say beforehand what a sense of duty or the opinion of my friends may or may not induce me to undertake; but it would require all the power of these, in a degree which I cannot beforehand imagine possible, to prevail on me to embark in a Government with which you were not connected in office. This, therefore, I consider as a *sine quâ non;*

and your saying you will take no office is, in my mind, tantamount to saying no Whig Administration can be formed.

"The Duke of Sussex came yesterday. He was drawn into Alnwick. He seems highly pleased with all the attentions he met with at Lambton. He proceeds on Monday towards Raby, where I wish I could meet you to talk over these matters; but this illness, though it no longer confines me to the house, prevents my going from home for at least a week.—Ever yours,

"GREY.

"*P.S.*—The *something* I should do on Parliamentary reform would be a good deal; and I think it would be necessary to take our stand upon it, at least till it had had a fair trial. There are difficulties on all sides; but the only chance you could have of carrying anything, would be by some assurance that the thing would be kept quiet afterwards."

"BROUGHAM, 16*th September* 1822.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I stayed at Raby from Monday to Friday. Nothing could be better than it all was. I only wish Lord Thanet had been at Appleby, as in that case the Duke of Sussex would have gone there, and returned to town by Liverpool and Cheshire, where Lord Grosvenor had expected him. The effect of a Prince herding with Whigs and speaking their language, is far greater among persons of all classes, and even among Tories (in the country I mean), than one can suppose who merely observes what passes in town. In town and Parliament they do us perhaps as much harm as good; but in the country it is very

much the reverse. He was very good-humoured and agreeable, as he always is when you put him on the right subjects—namely, anecdotes. I kept him as much as possible on old Court stories, English and German, and he went on with the history of them all really in a very entertaining way. By the way, he seemed to dread the Duke of York and his old Tory party a great deal more than anything else at this juncture, and considered the being obliged to take Canning in as a material defeat to that set.

"Before this can reach you (which I reckon will be Wednesday), you must have heard with certainty as to Canning. Indeed, already it seems all but settled; so far your original prediction is verified. Possibly, too, you may prove right in your expectation that the Chancellor and he will go on, from his (Canning's) fear of being again turned adrift, and no India to retreat upon. Yet still I see so many great difficulties in the way, that until the new concern is fairly under way I can't quite believe in it. I well know the infinite subtleties and wiles of that old serpent the Chancellor, and that, next to going out, Canning is the thing he most hates. Nor will anything make him submit but necessity. Up to the last moment there is a chance of its all going off. If Canning does come in, and upon anything like his own terms, I shall draw one only conclusion,—that they were desperate, and that Peel and Co. had *positively refused* to undertake the management upon any terms. But where I differ most with you is on the prospect before them with Canning. I cannot imagine them going on smoothly together; the King hating him—the Chancellor hating him more deeply and steadily—almost all his other

colleagues distrusting him, and he himself disliking them; and then the bitter contentions of the various sets of underlings (not to mention some questions, for on principles they can more easily compromise). When the first start in the House of Commons is over, and it is found how indifferent a leader he makes, intrigue will be at work, and they who lost heart now will repent of their pusillanimity; and he will sooner or later be flung overboard, if he is not killed by his irritable habit, his Government, and the 'wear and tear' of the House, as now conducted.

"I have learned one or two things illustrative of the treatment he has to expect. Up to this day week he had received no communication, and was extremely indignant at this treatment. You may rely on this, as it came direct from Lord George Bentinck (his Military Secretary for India), who was with him at the time. Then Wellington (who I believe is still far from well; he was in great danger one day, and as late as Thursday evening must have had a relapse, for he was then cupped) negotiated the thing with the King, and took the opportunity, it is said, of plucking the best plum out of the pudding, by getting Vienna for H. Wellesley. It is believed that Canning will, if he comes in, be for sending Granville Leveson to Paris, as he is so much ruined that he must go abroad somewhere. Now this will probably give rise to Canning's first squabble.

"Then I am told Binning* is to be his Under-Secretary. If so, either Wilmot or Dawson must go out, for they can't all three be in Parliament. As for

* Son of Charles, eighth Earl of Haddington. In 1827 created a Peer of the United Kingdom by the title of Baron Melros; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1833; died 1858 s. p., when the English barony became extinct.

India, it is positively believed that the Speaker has thoughts of it (so we shall have Squeak); but this seems very strange.*

"The way in which the Chancellor puts his case is, that the King entreated him to remain in with Canning for one year, and he complied. Nothing in all this strikes one more than the inveteracy of the King against the Whigs. You see there is nothing he will not rather do than think of a change—even Canning, whom he detests, and the Duke of York, of whom he is jealous. But fear is the ruling principle of his whole conduct, as it always has been; for as to any personal feelings, he can have none stronger than those towards Canning.—Yours ever truly, H. BROUGHAM."

"BROUGHAM, *September* 19, 1822.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I was speculating in my letter to you yesterday, if I recollect right, upon the Duke of York disliking the new arrangement, and this being one additional cause of its weakness. To-day I have a letter from Creevey, who quotes Bennet as positively stating that he knows the Duke of York has been speaking of the King's *weakness* in letting Canning be forced on him, and saying he had better have sent for the Whigs at once, for the step would prove the dissolution of the ministry. From his intercourse with the Yorkshire Tories, Wortley, Copley,† &c., Creevey believes the Duke of York to have said so; and he

* Charles Wynne, M.P. for County Montgomery. He was the brother of Sir Watkyn Williams Wynn. From a peculiarity in the utterance of Sir Watkyn, and the shrillness of his brother's voice, they had a joint nickname as "Bubble and Squeak."

† Sir Joseph Copley, Bart. of Spotborough, county York.

describes them as all in the same story about Canning's folly in coming in alone, for to my utter astonishment I now find he does so. I at least had expected that he would have had the sense to make some sort of terms for himself. But it would appear that he jumps at any means of escaping banishment to India.

"This is all the news I have, and I fear it may not reach you till it is old, as there seems considerable delay in the communication between the two, from motives without the slightest tincture possible of interest, for within six weeks I have refused the most easy and secure income *for life* of £7000 or £8000 a-year and high rank, which I could not take without leaving my friends in the House of Commons exposed to the leaders of different parties.—Yours ever,

"H. Brougham."

"Brougham, *January* 10, 1823.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I feel with you that there is still a considerable difficulty in keeping the peace at Paris with Spain; but the Ultras, how crazy soever, dare not go to war when it comes to the point. *Talleyrand has always disbelieved it.* So has Baring, who, however, ascribes more, far more, to Wellington than he deserves. My apprehension rather is that the Spaniards may do something aggressive, and that would be frightful, for it might unite the French on national grounds, and then an attack on Spain, disunited, would be a very fearful risk. We shall have meetings in these counties at the Easter season, to which the Yorkshire meeting will certainly be put off. A general expression of opinion during the recess, after a judicious opening, might do real good.

"Montholon has written an excellent letter to O'Meara, saying he had done all he could to prevent the Bertrands from getting into this sad scrape, so ruinous to their character, but in vain; and adding, that Bertrand is to have a place through the interest of Fitzjames.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

Before the spring circuit we had reason to believe that Jonathan Raine might leave it; and if this happened, we should have been reduced to one silk gown (Scarlett). The injury to many who were my seniors in standing, as Pollock and others, was now becoming so serious, that I was pressed to lay the matter before Eldon, and to urge him to remedy the grievance. I did this very reluctantly, but the evil was undeniable, and the pressure upon me was too great to be resisted. Accordingly I wrote to the Chancellor as follows:—

"LINCOLN'S INN, *February* 25, 1823.

"MY LORD,—I take the liberty of calling your Lordship's attention to the application which I formerly made for a Patent of Precedence; and I trust that your Lordship will pardon me if I add a statement of the reasons which induce me, upon the promotion of Mr Sergeant Hullock, to pursue this course.

"If my own convenience alone were in question, I should not now trouble your Lordship; but I am induced to renew the application in consequence of the injurious effects occasioned to others by my want of standing, especially on the northern circuit, the inconvenience to which clients are frequently subjected, and, I may add, recommendations proceeding from a high judicial quarter, where those inconveniences are known.

"May I be permitted further to say, that political differences would of course preclude the possibility of my making any application for rank, if I could regard the distribution of it as a matter of official patronage. Those differences can in no degree lessen the profound respect with which I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

"H. BROUGHAM."

To this application no answer was returned, and, of course, no compliance with my demand; for I considered it rather in the light of a just demand for the sake of others than a favour personal to myself. I then, as usual, joined the spring circuit at York. What we had anticipated in February, before I left London, having happened, I wrote the following letter to Lord Grey:—

"NEWCASTLE, *March* 11, 1823.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Jonathan Raine is made a Welsh judge, and has signified (as of course) that he has left the northern circuit, so that here we are to go round on this large and important circuit with one single silk gown—for the first time that it has ever been with less than three. All the northern counties have a right to complain of this, for it makes it absolutely impossible for more than *one side* of each cause to have justice done it. Whoever retains Scarlett has a leader and a special pleader; at least his choice of the special pleaders. Whoever does not, must take a leader, and has only half a choice of pleaders. It is in vain to say there is Cross, a sergeant, for they *will not take him*, as has been shown in these two counties, when he came with Williams and me, and never had

a brief. Now the Chancellor is in a scrape if he persists in showing his spite; and I strongly urge you to ask him privately in the House of Lords on Thursday evening whether he really means to let us go to York and Lancaster without any rank, except Scarlett. He must not now pretend that there are personal difficulties. If he does, I have the King's own authority for denying it positively, and you may tell him so.

"Bayley has so strong an opinion of it that he has offered to call Williams and myself within the bar at Lancaster; but we are resolved to refuse it. I have done quite enough in writing to the Chancellor. Pray, if you can, learn his intention; you have a full right as a north-countryman.—Yours ever, H. B."

"York, *March* 25, 1823.

"Dear Lord Grey,—In case you may wish to know the result of the Chancellor's low trick to *force* me out of the lead, relying on the now obsolete prejudice in favour of silk gowns, I have to tell you the exact result of it. I have been in everything, and led equal with Scarlett, or thereabouts—a little under or over. Williams (especially high in Eldon's hatred, as in his own merits) comes clearly and plainly next, though certainly at some distance. Cross has again failed completely, and in a decisive manner. Littledale (the greatest shame of the whole) on the shelf. One Hardy (a Tory, favourite of Eldon and *protégé* of Bragge), who *had* good business, has not a brief. Others above me affected in proportion. Tindal not much affected either way. Parke (Tory) by no means benefited; but Alderson (Whig, and great friend of

mine) has had his fortune made, being in almost everything with me. This is really a strong case of retributive justice. The charm about silk gowns is at an end, and I am clear that this branch of patronage has been sacrificed to a vile personal spite.—Yours ever truly, H. BROUGHAM."

The following shows the conclusion of this farce, and of Eldon's spiteful conduct:—

"LANCASTER, *April* 1823.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—You will be surprised to hear that, after what passed yesterday, we have after all finally refused being called. But the judges chose to do a foolish thing, which left us no choice. They sent to every man who is senior to us, and offered it to them all—about a dozen and a half—not one of whom ever has a brief, at least hardly any of them, and *none* of them with the slightest pretensions. Two accepted, the rest laughed. We immediately sent a respectful refusal, stating why. On which, of course, the two, who had accepted only on the ground of not being passed by, refuse also—at least so I hear. It is now *far* better as it is, and the *whole circuit* approve—the hit at the Chancellor being the very same.—Ever truly yours, H. B.

"Pray tell Sefton this—I have not time."

"HANOVER SQUARE, *June* 12, 1823.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter yesterday morning, just as I was leaving Stoke to return to town. It is difficult, not to say almost impos-

sible, for me to refuse anything which you press so strongly as my attendance at the Spanish meeting. My first inclination was at once to abandon all the objections I had to it, and to submit my own opinion to yours; but after much reflection I really cannot agree to assist in this measure, though to the object which it has in view I am not less friendly than any of its most eager supporters.

"I say nothing of the meeting having been resolved upon without any general communication with the chief members of Opposition, and against the opinion of many of them.

"This I should not mind if I had not more serious objections. In the first place, I feel considerable doubt as to the measure in point of principle. In the second, I cannot conceive that any real advantage would attend it in aiding the resistance of Spain, more especially under the present aspect of affairs in that country; and unless I could hold out such a hope, I do not feel that I could be justified in taking any active part in recommending it to a public meeting.

"Under these circumstances, and with these feelings, I trust you will not think me quite inexcusable, more especially when it is considered that any advantage which could result from my presence at the meeting could be very little, whilst so many of the most active and powerful members of the Opposition decline attending it.—Ever yours, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"*January* 26, 1824.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I wish very much to hear from you upon the present state of affairs, espe-

cially the line to be taken on Spain and South America at the meeting.

"I did not trouble you during the last fortnight, when we were all at sixes and sevens about the old question of amendment or no amendment (for, strange as it may seem to you, there were some who thought we should have one). But now all difficulties of that kind seem to be removed, and we shall only have a discussion. Now, how does it strike you? If we could all actually secede and leave the Government to fall out, no doubt that would be inevitable; but this is impossible. If we could virtually secede, by leaving them to themselves nine nights in ten, it would be next thing to it, and certainly I should for one be most happy. But this is almost as impossible, and I doubt if it is justifiable.

"The only practical question, then, is as to the ground we should take. To represent all the consequences of the state of things which the ministers have made for us in Europe; to show the gross inconsistency, of those who would do nothing to keep Spain from falling into the hands of France taking any steps whatever, much more threatening war, to keep the Spanish colonies from falling only into the hands of the mother country through the assistance of her allies; and then to express our thankfulness to North America for having helped us out of so great a scrape, and our humiliation at being obliged to follow in the wake of the Yankees,—seems, on the whole, our best line. But we shall all be most anxious to know what strikes you upon the subject. Our ministers will probably take a very moderate tone, except as to prosperity at home. You know when stocks are above

90, and corn bears a fair price, reasoning to the country, at least to the land and trade, is labour lost. But surely we ought to keep alive the spirit of hatred towards the Holy Allies, and of friendship towards the free states formed in North, and forming in South America. And though nothing can equal the gross inconsistency and brutal trading spirit of a policy which should *now* make war for the colonies after doing nothing for the mother country, *we* have no such inconsistency imputable to us, and *our* views are not mercantile.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

"*February* 8, 1824.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I am sorry I was prevented so many days from writing after receiving yours, but I have been extremely busy. We had a dinner and meeting at the Clarendon the day before. I never saw anything like the flatness of people; but they were not wrongheaded at all, and quite steady, of course. But Western was finally resolved to move an amendment, and behaved, as he always does, with perfect propriety and fairness. After long conversation with him, both the night before and on Monday, he said he really felt it a matter of conscience, and could not waive it; but he would take care to say it was only his own, and committed no one but himself, and that he should not divide. He rose after the seconder, and I got up too; so he gave way: and as I had begged him to wait to see whether my protest in a speech was not as strong as one in the shape of an amendment, he reconsidered the matter and said nothing. As for the debate, I think Canning and I tried which could speak worst, and that I beat him by

a trifle; but their side was so infinitely flat, and even dead, that it had the appearance of his having made the worse figure of the two.* Accordingly people are crying out in all quarters on this. It was really singular to see one in his situation never get even a cheer, except one or two from us. Our people, though not very numerous, had lost their flatness, and roared lustily against the Government and Holy Allies. I entirely agreed with you as to the doubtful doctrines of the President's Message. Indeed, Mackintosh and I had resolved to say something in the way of protest before your letter came. I thought, when the moment arrived, that it would be as well to put it off in order to make our Government the more ashamed of their conduct, by giving no encouragement to those who are always abusing America.

"What is doing at Madrid about South America I can't guess; but some think there is a treaty on foot for surrendering on being paid so much money, and that this is agreeable to France, as likely to get her paid.

"I hope you observed Canning's *praise* of the French armies, and his '*no*' (on the ground of humanity) to the mention of withdrawing them.—Yours ever,† H. BROUGHAM."

* Debate on the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the session, 3d February 1824, chiefly on the occupation of Spain by French troops. Mr Western, as reported on the 4th, said "it was his intention last evening to have moved an amendment to the Address, had not his honourable and learn friend, Mr Brougham, anticipated what he had to say, in the able and eloquent speech which he had made on the occasion."—Hansard, 94.

† "If he were asked, Ought the French army to evacuate Spain tomorrow? as a friend to humanity, he must say, No."—Hansard, 93.

"*November* 16, 1824.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your letter on Saturday, and agree entirely as to all you say of Canning and Wellesley regarding the Catholic question. They never will or can do anything but by accident or compulsion, as long as they act on the *principle* (if one may so call the most unprincipled ground ever avowedly taken) that they are to make any sacrifice or run any risk for the question. Indeed, Canning very coolly says he is convinced a Government entirely friendly to it is the least likely to carry it! But what I meant by '*speculations*' about the two, was as to Canning's supposed object in going to Dublin—which I suspect was Cabinet arrangements. There is a talk of Wellesley coming over here, and Lord Bristol succeeding him. But this I can hardly believe. Stuart is come home; he arrived on Saturday evening, but I have not seen him. Canning has used him very ill, and both he and *her* family are loud against him. Lady Holland is better, but there have been unpleasant symptoms, pains, &c. in the limbs, which, with her *habit* and *habits*, naturally make one think of dropsy. However, she is ten years too young for that. He is extremely well; Mary by no means so. Did I tell you of Canning having given warning to a friend of his that he might be prepared for an election in February or March, meaning that they were to pass a few necessary bills, and have a summer session? It seems quite absurd; and even if Canning has any such plan, his colleagues certainly won't allow it.

"I saw Lord Darlington on my way to town, and I think he certainly has Howick in his eye; but not having got your letter, I could not go into the subject:

only he is quite aware of Northumberland *not* being at all certain; and it was from his way of mentioning *that*, that I chiefly inferred as above,—coupled with what he had said formerly.

"Remember me to Lady Grey, and believe me ever yours, H. B."

In the early part of the session we resolved to keep up a great fight against the Government, even from the day Parliament met (3d February), and began by a good debate on the Address, although it was not considered advisable to move an amendment in either House. But on the 10th, when Goulburn brought in a bill to amend the Unlawful Societies Acts in Ireland, the battle of the session really began. We debated this for four nights, and seldom has there been seen in the House of Commons a debate so remarkable for speeches of the first order. On the fourth night (Tuesday, 15th of February) I followed Canning, and closed the debate. My speech was considered very successful; and certainly, considering that during the whole continuance of this long debate I had been very hard worked—every day in court, and most part of every night in chambers—I had every reason to be satisfied with my speech. About four in the morning we divided, and were beaten by nearly two to one.

Next day I wrote to Lord Grey as follows:—

"London, *February* 16, 1825.

"My dear Lord Grey,—The papers will have told you more fully than I could our late movements, which I hope and trust have been such as to meet with your approbation; though, being so far off, you may some-

times have doubted. I assure you the plan of at once giving battle (the first night), and then fighting every inch of ground upon the measure, has been successful in producing great effect indoors, much satisfaction to the Irish, and putting down the No-Popery cry. Also incidents of some importance are, that Canning and Peel have been greatly damaged and our friends encouraged. But now comes the tug, and really your presence can no longer be dispensed with. I had resolved not to trouble you until I could avoid it no longer. I have consulted Lord Holland, Lord Lansdowne, &c. &c., and all agree with me. Had you been here this week, a meeting of both houses at Devonshire House would have been most desirable, and will be when you come. The bill is out of our House on Friday, so you cannot delay longer.

"I go the circuit Saturday week, and this is an additional reason for wishing you were here, but it is only one of many.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

"*August* 12, 1825.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Shall I put your name down for a London University share—to give you a vote? (Proxies vote.) Lord Fitzwilliam takes five. Eleven hundred are already disposed of, so we are landed, and our advertisement for sites is in to-day's papers.

"Direct to me, Lancaster.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"Did you hear rumours of overtures between Canning and Lord Lansdowne? In town some men were full of it. I daresay you feel as I do on this—viz., desirous to stand aloof if one's presence were any

impediment to what must *end* in a better system; but the Catholic question is the first obstacle to anything; and I doubt, or rather disbelieve, the whole matter."

FROM EARL GREY.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *August* 12, 1825.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter this morning, and am willing to take one share, to show my goodwill to the new university.* I cannot afford more. I leave it to you to negotiate for this share, either in my name or Howick's, as you may think best. He would be more active and useful as a supporter of the institution than I can be.

"I do not see how an overture could come from Canning to Lansdowne except with a prospect of breaking up the Administration and forming a new one, in which the Catholic interest would predominate. I can conceive few events more improbable than this, and therefore I agree with you in disbelieving the whole matter. Should there be anything more in it, I also agree with you in standing out of the way of any arrangement which might favour a better system. But I am out of the way in all events and in all cases.

"I hear reports again of a dissolution, but in this country of boroughs I hear no reports of any preparations which indicate such an expectation on the part of the friends of Government. Whenever a dissolution takes place there will be a contest for Cornwall, in which Mr Pendarvis is believed to be sure of success. He is a stanch Whig; but Tremayne will probably go to the wall. I have been told, but I do not know that

* The London University.

my authority is very good, that if there is an opposition in Devonshire it will go hard with Acland.

"Of my own interest in this event I know nothing more. Howick was at the assizes, and on the grand jury, and introduced to a good many of the gentlemen. I think he would be nearly certain if there was a little more decision and energy in our friends. The great danger is from Howick's taking it into his head suddenly to declare himself, and throwing everything into confusion. This might be obviated by an immediate declaration of Howick's; but this would entail on us all the expense and trouble of an immediate and protracted canvass. I have no other prospect for him.

"Lady Grey much the same, but better. I am myself quite well, and all the rest of my family.—Ever yours, GREY.

"Lansdowne is expected at Saltram (Lord Henley's), and also Huskisson and Robinson; but whether at the same time, I know not."

TO EARL GREY.

"*December* 18, 1825.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The newspapers have, I assure you, not at all exaggerated the state of things here (in the City, I mean) last week, especially Tuesday. There was a moment when all the banks might have gone. The *panic* is over, but the mischief has been done; and certainly there will be failures among merchants now. Besides, the country banks are spreading embarrassments everywhere; and the Bank of *England* has been much drained. I should therefore not be at all surprised any day to see a *suspen-*

sion. It certainly has been *discussed,* and *decided against,* but they may be forced to it. I mean the Government when I say *forced,* for the Bank want to have it; and the country gentlemen and farmers, connecting it with high prices, &c., will be very ready to urge it. I believe you may rely on this, that the Government are in a greater stew than they ever were in; and I don't at all discredit the reports (which it is the fashion to laugh at) of the Cabinet sitting on Friday till twelve at night, of Parliament being called together, and the Guards being in readiness. Indeed, this last is certain; and it seems equally so that the ministers will take no responsibility, but, as usual, throw all on a committee and a vote of the House; that is, *if* things go on so as to make them suspend. If they do not, then this crisis will be soon over, though with great loss to individuals and much local distress.

"Wentworth's bank can't go on. They had everything examined; and though Lord Fitzwilliam and Milton (for Chaloner) would have raised £200,000, it was found impossible even with that. Then a middle course (to try a letter of licence) was thought of, and is now abandoned. So to-morrow they will have a docket struck. Nothing can exceed the conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam and Milton on this trying occasion. It was hardly credible, even to those who knew them. Chaloner's disinterestedness and honour are hardly less to be admired. If I hear anything before the post to-morrow, I will add a *P.S.*—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

"HILL STREET, *December* 19, 1825.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—You can have no idea of

the gloom in the City on Friday and Saturday; and from what I heard yesterday, this week is expected to be worse. The alarm is begun among the country banks, and many of them must go. This of Wentworth is really a most afflicting thing, as it will make some of the best people in the world extremely unhappy—I mean the Chaloners, and all that connection. But the exchanges are improved, and gold is cheap, so that the Bank *must* issue; and I suppose, after a little while, things will get right, with a good deal of individual and local distress. I hope there is still some chance of the Catholics not pressing the question this session. Burdett has advised them, and is advising strongly, not to do it. Most of our friends in the House of Commons are clear for this course, with one or two important exceptions—as Althorpe, Tierney.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

FROM EARL GREY.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *December* 21, 1825.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have to thank you for two letters, the last received this morning. I have been less surprised than others—perhaps less than I ought to have been—by all this confusion and distress in our money concerns. Ellice has always told me that it must happen sooner or later, and supported his opinion by reasons which appeared to me so good that they convinced me.* I can have no doubt that the original cause of all has been an over-issue of paper, caused in part by the Bank, but much more by the bill continuing to the country banks the power of issuing £1 and £2 notes. It remains to be seen

* Edward Ellice, Secretary to the Treasury in Lord Grey's Ministry.

whether ministers will have nerves to face the crisis that must be produced, by establishing our circulation on a real basis of cash payments, at which, notwithstanding all our boasts, we never yet have arrived; or whether they will tide on by expedients, which must end in another Bank Restriction Act. The latter, for innumerable reasons, seems the most probable; and the issue of £1 and £2 notes by the Bank seems a pretty direct step towards it.

"The death of Alexander seems likely to increase the alarm. Was it according to the '*manière à vous*' of Orloff? Who is to be his successor? Whether Constantine or Nicholas, is it likely that he will risk popularity with the army by not attacking Turkey? In that case, shall we have another Oczakoff armament? Will the present difficulties make ministers pacific, or will they see in a war a relief for their immediate embarrassment, by its furnishing a pretence for shutting up . . .*

"As to what you say about Ireland, I can only repeat my former opinion, that it is best for us not to advise at all. But if I were bound to give an opinion, it would be with Tierney and Althorpe. It may be very convenient to *us* to have no Catholic question, but is it equally good for the Irish? Have they ever got anything except what has been extorted in the hour of distress? Is it not, then, *their* interest to keep alive and inflame a spirit of discontent for that season? If they are quiet, will their adversaries be so? The contrary is pretty evident from what is now going on with a view to the approaching elections, unless these distresses produce a change of conduct. Whether

* Illegible.

the Catholic Association is acting in the best way for their own purposes, is another question; but if I were an Irish Catholic, I should consider myself as in a state of war with the English Government, and think only of the means of reducing to submission an enemy whom I could never hope to gain by conciliation. But this is advice I should be very sorry to give to the Irish Catholics; and as I could honestly give no other with a view to *their* interests, I should certainly remain silent.—Ever yours, "GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *July* 20, 1826.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I think it will be satisfactory to you to learn the very favourable report which the lawyers (though Tory) make of Howick. It fully confirms all I had before heard from other quarters; but *our people* of the bar are generally very difficult to please. As for Lambton's affair, there *can* be but one opinion; therefore it is needless to say they agree on that head with every one else.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"What will you bet that I don't name the two members for Northumberland next general election? As for Howick, I hope and trust that without a certainty he never will think of it again. I really cannot regret what has happened, from the great start it has given him; but another time, without perfect security, would be out of the question."

"HILL STREET, *December* 9, 1826.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have been very unlucky in never seeing Howick. He has been out of town

(at Ellice's) till yesterday; and this morning, when I called on my way to Westminster, he had not come down. I hope, however, to see him before he leaves town. He is so amiable and modest that I feel certain he requires urging to come forward. As it happens, there has been nothing like an opportunity since Parliament met. Indeed, I have only been three times in the House myself since the first night. Committees there will be—but are not yet, except the bubble one—on which I could easily have put him; but I purposely avoided it, as being of a personal nature, and because one did not exactly know what Waithman might do in it. I am going to make Littleton put him down as one of the seventy who are to be on private bills; and the Corn question cannot go on without a committee. Hume is certainly damaged more than I expected, but I still think he will weather it. If he had common-sense, I could insure him doing so; but he provokes right-thinking people by taking up every subject, and spoiling half those he touches. His uses are, however, great; and whenever it is possible to defend him I shall continue to do so, in spite of himself. Canning will be well by Tuesday. I feel all you say on Portugal very strongly, and cannot help being alarmed that the peace is in danger owing to our credulity and feebleness. Villèle is well disposed, but has no real power; and the Ultras and Jesuits do as they please.

"I believe the Duke of York going to Belvoir is a pure romance, and do not expect him ever to *walk* out of his house.—Yours ever, H. Brougham."

It had for some time appeared manifest that there

was a division in the Tory ministry—one part, with Canning, leaning to Liberal policy, both foreign and domestic; while the other, with Eldon, adhered to the old high Tory feelings and opinions. This division had nothing to do with the Catholic question; for Castlereagh, who was opposed to the Canning set, had always been a steady friend of emancipation, although he had joined the ministry of Sidmouth.

Canning was appointed Governor-General, and was about to proceed to India when Castlereagh's melancholy and most unexpected death prevented it; and the Duke of Wellington overcame the King's aversion to him, saying he knew it would be disagreeable for him to take Canning into the Government, but he could not like him less than he did, and there was no help for it. The same kind of argument had been used to Lord Wellesley, but without success, ten years before, when the Regent urged him to overcome his objections to Perceval, and endeavour to serve with him. He said, "I'll tell your Royal Highness how impossible it is, by a comparison you will at once understand; you might as well ask me to live with my wife." He had long been separated from her. The marriage with Mademoiselle Roland had been brought about by a trick.* She had been the mother of his children, Richard, John, and Lady C. Bentinck, before he went to India, and upon his return she lived for some time at Apsley House.† She was taken ill, and grew so much worse, that, to all appearance,

* Hyacinthe Gabrielle, daughter of Pierre Roland. Of this connection there was no legitimate issue.

† On his return from India, Lord Wellesley purchased Apsley House from Earl Bathurst, and afterwards sold it to the Duke of Wellington.

she could not last many days. Her confessor persuaded Lord Wellesley that, as she was on her deathbed, he ought to enable her to receive the last sacrament of her Church by marrying her, which he did. He then went to Eton for a week, to be out of the way till all was over, and he told the butler to write to him the moment the event took place. He received no letter, and after some days returned to town. When he saw the butler, he asked when it had happened. "Happened!" he said; "Milady is in the drawing-room at luncheon, and has been quite well these three days;" and so she continued for some years; but from that time he made her live in a house which he took for her in Harley Street.

The Duke prevailed, and Canning became Foreign Secretary, and leader in the House of Commons. He did nothing for the Catholic question, on various pretences, but in reality because he was afraid of setting the King against him, and of dividing the Cabinet. But he took a sound and liberal part on foreign affairs, and got rid of the embarrassment which Castlereagh had left of the Holy Alliance, and generally of the numerous Continental intrigues and the aggressive views of the foreign courts. This naturally led to a great inclination in his favour among the leading Whigs, some of whom gave him a very hearty support. He was very sensible of this, and I remember his expressing himself strongly on this subject to Scarlett, with whom he was intimate, saying to him "how grateful he felt to me in particular for the part I had taken on the Spanish question." All recollection of the Liverpool contest had long since ceased. We continued on the same friendly footing after he became leader

in the Commons, with the exception of a personal conflict soon after he took office, and in his measures we almost entirely agreed. Our co-operation, indeed, was pretty constant.

The political death of Lord Liverpool took place in February 1827; and Canning was, soon after that event, sent for by the King. In the preliminary discussion he had with George IV., Canning remained perfectly consistent on the question of Catholic emancipation, stating distinctly to the King that he should, whether in or out of office, act as regarded that question precisely as he had hitherto done. He then communicated with Peel and Wellington: the latter, after expressing for him the greatest consideration, frankly stated he should quit the Government, as he could not consent to hold office under a minister favourable to the Roman Catholic claims.

It was confidently asserted, and by many believed, that Peel had advised the King to intrust to Wellington the construction of the new Government. This Wellington expressly denied when the explanation of the late ministers was given in the House of Lords, on the 2d of May 1827. He not only denied that the King had ever proposed to him to take the Government, but he emphatically expressed his conviction that he was unfit for it, concluding with these words —"My Lords, I should have been worse than mad if I had thought of such a thing."

Peel also resigned. He and the others who followed his example were greatly abused by many of the high Tory party, with whom they got no credit for having resigned because of the Catholic question. Their real motives were attributed to *personal* hostility

to Canning; and, in consequence, they were much blamed for giving way to such a feeling, whereby they had opened the door to the admission of the Whigs. Wellington's conduct after Canning's death, when he not only again became Commander-in-Chief, but ultimately Prime Minister, somewhat confirms the view that it was more on personal than on public grounds that so many members of Castlereagh's Government had resigned.

When Wellington, Peel, Eldon, and the rest of the high Tory party, separated from him, Canning soon found that he could not hope to carry on the Government without our help. A negotiation was then opened with me, and I proposed that a coalition should be formed; but as the King's objection to me was probably insurmountable, I said I could at once remove that difficulty by declaring that I would on no account take office. Of course political office was out of the question, as I could not quit my profession; but I wrote a letter, to be used by Canning with the King, stating that, for particular reasons, I declined taking *professional* office, and should give the Government my hearty support upon all ordinary questions, hoping that they would not take such a part on Parliamentary reform and the Irish question as might compel me to make any exceptions. This removed all difficulty, and Lansdowne, Holland, Tierney, and others took office. Grey at first seemed rather disposed to approve; but in a day or two, having reconsidered the matter, he declared himself strongly opposed to any coalition with Canning. Both in his letters and conversation he expressed the strong feeling he had upon what he considered the effect of it in splitting the party. This

he exceedingly overrated; and I am persuaded that he had no personal feeling whatever against those who made, and those who approved or availed themselves of it. This is manifest, not only from the individuals who did so, such as Lambton, whose peerage was the result of it, but from what took place at its termination. He had the candour afterwards to allow that the junction had entirely broken up the old Tory party, and had paved the way to his own Government. He gave as another reason—and which at the time he considered the weightiest—that Lyndhurst had taken the Great Seal. But neither he nor the Duke of Bedford could get over their objections to Canning, which were of a personal nature with the Duke, on account of Canning's attacks upon his brother Francis, the late Duke; and with Grey they proceeded on the old Fox feelings towards him. The Duke actually gave his proxy to Wellington; and Grey attacked Canning so severely that he had actually thoughts of taking a peerage in order to defend himself.* This animosity continued during the whole of the Junction ministry, even after Canning's death, on the part of the Duke and Grey. Others, not regular members of our party, had equal objections, my friend Ellenborough among the rest. He attacked me as the author of the Coalition or Junction, and so did Londonderry in the Lords and his son in the Commons. I recollect, in defending myself one Monday, saying that, the day before, I had joined in the prayer that the Lords of the Council and ALL THE NOBILITY might be endowed with grace, wisdom, and understanding, but that unhappily this petition had been refused, for I could not to-day find

* Hansard, New Series, vol. xvii. p. 724, May 10, 1827.

that *all the nobility* were gifted with wisdom and understanding.

Some of our best friends, without opposing or even disapproving the Junction ministry, as it was called, kept aloof. Of these, Althorpe and Tavistock (now Duke of Bedford) were the principal. They said they must take time and watch the Government. They acted as watchers therefore, preventing attacks in general, and for the most part satisfied with the measures of the ministers. I took my place in what was called the *Hill-Fort* (an East Indian term), on the third bench behind the ministerial, in the corner where Pitt used to sit while supporting the Addington ministry; nor did any occasion but one occur to make me differ with Canning, and that was on the disfranchisement of Grampound for corruption, when he was defeated by a large majority.

Among those who, out of doors, were against the Junction, was Sydney Smith, who wrote violent letters abusing it, and lauding the Duke of Bedford for going against it. But this did not prevent him from writing to me, on Goderich succeeding Canning, to desire promotion. He stated his unquestionable claims upon the Liberal party, and added that what he desired was a living of a considerably larger amount than Foston, which he then held, or a prebend, the conferring of which would be beneficial to us as well as to himself, for it would acquit our debt to him, while anything higher in the Church would neither be good for us nor for himself. My answer was, that he showed his usual good sense in preferring the *snugnesses* to the *fastnesses* of the Church; and I promised to do my best for him, but the ministry did not last long enough to

give me the opportunity. It has often been said that we should, when in power, have made him a bishop; and Grey is often reported to have declared that his not being so made was one of the things he most regretted. But this cannot be true, for Grey made (besides his brother) one bishop in England and an archbishop in Ireland. As for me, I was clear against it. I knew that he would have been for some time perfectly decorous and episcopal in the House of Lords, like the cat which was changed into a fine lady, and behaved with perfect propriety till a mouse ran across the floor, when she intuitively darted after it;—so in the House of Lords, our friend Sydney, on something coming across him that he could not resist, would have brought our appointment into discredit, which, with our feeble position in that House, would have been most perilous. However, I helped him all I could with my colleagues, and would gladly have given him promotion out of my own patronage if I had had any free from party and local claims not to be resisted. I did give him a prebend in St Paul's, many suitors being set aside for him, as it was much run after in consequence of the preferment attached to it. He expressed great thankfulness for this.

On Canning's death, Goderich (afterwards Ripon) succeeded, but on the eve of the session the ministry fell to pieces, and was succeeded by the Duke's, who exercised entire control over his colleagues. He felt the necessity of strengthening himself. He gave promotion to some of us—as Abercromby, who was appointed Chief Baron in Scotland; Scarlett, Attorney-General. Huskisson was very indignant at what

he called Wellington's attempts to get round us by picking up the stragglers. It is to be observed that those who were most decided in their support of the Junction, greatly lamented the necessity of postponing the Irish question. Plunket, who took the Chief-Justiceship, felt this as strongly as any one, from his devotion to the question; and his repugnance to the postponement could only have been overcome by the necessities of the case. The following letter indicates these feelings:—

"MULLINGAR, *August* 5, 1827.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—Your friendly note was forwarded to me on circuit, where I still am, and shall be for another week.

"I thank you for your news and your wishes, and rejoice sincerely that Canning is not suffering under any indisposition, either of his own or of any other person; whilst he has health and favour all will go right. Ireland is at present in a state of perfect tranquillity, and without a trace of any tendency to public disturbance. I have every hope that the Roman Catholics will remain quiet until the meeting of Parliament; at least I need not tell you that you may rely on my using every effort to keep them in a right course. As to myself, it would be affectation to say that I am not disappointed, or that I have not strong feelings on the subject; but this ought not to interfere, and shall not, with the cordiality of my support to Canning and to the whole body of your friends, from all of whom I have received every mark of regard and kindness, and to whom I am satisfied it would be most unjust to attribute any share in whatever course may be taken on any subject. When I learn anything

worth telling you, you shall have a line from me.—Yours always faithfully, PLUNKET.

"Lord M., your friend, has fired a stern-chaser at Government and the Solicitor-General."

TO EARL GREY.

"DURHAM, *August* 13, 1827.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I cannot help writing you a few lines upon the change that has lately taken place. Much as on all other accounts I regret Canning's death, it is impossible for me to avoid reflecting that it removes the principal obstacle to your supporting the Government. At least this is the impression left on my mind by the very disagreeable recollections of last session.

"Of course I do not ask you to declare your feelings and opinions upon this subject. But proceeding upon the supposition of my opinion being well founded, I wish to state to you what has happened with regard to myself.

"You are aware that I have uniformly refused political office of every kind. I do this both because I can ill afford to give up a large and certain for a smaller and precarious income, and also because I think, in my circumstances, I should lower myself in Parliament and the country by accepting any place out of my profession. I adhered to this when Canning lately pressed me on the subject.

"As for professional promotion, having declined a judicial station, nothing can remain for me except those offices which it seems the King will not, from personal objections, hear of my holding. I have therefore

agreed to support the leader of the House of Commons, whoever he may be, *unconnected with Government by office of any kind.* I have taken this resolution upon the intimate persuasion of my help being very essential, if not necessary, to the continuance of a Government the principles of which I entirely approve as far as they go, and hope to see go farther, and prove still better. I do so, allow me to add, wholly disinterestedly. From the Government I have received only slight and annoyance in my profession. My only prayer was rejected—viz., that all promotion should be delayed a year, lest I might lose. I *have lost materially* on this circuit by the refusal of that request; and in point of honour and personal civility, a man has been put over my head, both in professional rank and as Attorney-General of the Duchy, for no other merit but writing a No-Popery pamphlet. As for my real individual interest, I believe no one can doubt that it is clearly, in *the present state of the House of Commons,* my game to see a weak Government, with only Peel, whom I never found very invincible, and myself at the head of the Liberal party. But I really do think I do the right thing by preferring the anomalous and awkward position on the Hill-Fort; and on this ground I have resolved.—Believe me ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM EARL GREY.

"LYNEHAM, NEAR PLYMTON, *August* 19, 1827.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—Your letter, having come round by London, only reached me yesterday.

"The recollections of the last session are indeed most painful, and the more so as the causes of them

are, I fear, not likely soon to be removed. The difference of opinion which then produced the dissolution of the party in the support of which my whole public life had been spent, could not fail to extend itself to the consequences of that unfortunate event; and it is a matter rather of regret than of surprise that our views of what the present state of affairs may require each of us to do should not agree. But I will not enter into any discussion, which would be useless, as affording little probability of bringing us nearer together. There is one point, however, in which I wish to offer a word in the way of explanation. I certainly, from long experience and observation of his conduct, had a rooted distrust of Canning; nor was there anything in the manner in which he separated himself from his old colleagues, or joined his new ones, that could, as I viewed it, in any degree diminish that impression. But the impossibility, in which I found myself, of supporting the new Government, did not arise so much from my personal objections to him as from those which I felt to the principle on which the Administration was formed. Those objections are rather increased than diminished by all I hear of the manner in which the vacancies occasioned by Canning's death are likely to be supplied. In proportion as our friends might have obtained a greater share of power and influence, my disposition towards the Administration would naturally have become more favourable; but at present all reasonable grounds for confidence, on which I could give my assurance of general support, appear to me as much wanting as ever. I must remain, therefore, in the same position, supporting such measures as are consistent with my principles,

and opposing, without any inducement to forbearance, whatever may appear to militate against them.

"I leave this place on the 29th, but as I shall pay some visits on the road, I shall probably not reach Howick before the 20th September. If anything should lead you northward, I hope we shall see you, and that our meeting will not be rendered less pleasant to either of us by our political separation.—Ever yours truly, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 1, 1827.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I agree with you generally as to Canning not having been a good man to act with, and few people know better than myself how incapable he was of giving men credit for feelings of magnanimity to which he could not reach himself. Still I think he has done, partly by accident, partly from merit, very essential service to the good cause, and I hope it may not now be thrown away.

"As for a certain large gentleman, well stricken in years, no one trusts him less than I do; and this rage for having Herries Chancellor of the Exchequer is to me full of suspicion, especially as all reports unite in a very unpleasant version of Herries's rise to his present circumstances. However, I have reason to believe that the ministers have so far resisted the King's wishes lately upon more points than one, as to make it extremely doubtful whether the Government will not be broken up before this can reach you.

"Of one thing I am clear—that, whatever part I have taken, I must have the admission made to me on all hands of having acted from motives without the

slightest possible tincture of interest; for within six weeks I have refused the most easy and secure income *for life* of £7000 a-year, and high rank, which I could not take without leaving my friends in the House of Commons exposed to the leaders of different parties.*—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LORD LANSDOWNE.

"BOWOOD, *September* 6, 1827.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—You are of course satisfied with the example of passive obedience and non-resistance I have given, as you so strongly recommended it to me, and so generally to others.

"I have as sincere a deference for your judgment as that of any man, but I think it right you should know that in the last discussions respecting an appointment which I had *first* been led to consider as *most objectionable*, by a statement of yours which had been communicated to me, I was met by the observation I could not deny, that *you* were well known to be quite ready to acquiesce in it; precisely as in the first negotiation with Canning, in attempting to obtain some security, not for personal objects of my own, but for the public, as far as Ireland was concerned, I was met by the statement, pretty well founded, that my Whig friends in St James's Street were ready to join Government on any terms.

"These circumstances increase the embarrassment of a position otherwise difficult enough. I am willing to hope for the public what has been recently done may be for the best. For my personal credit and character

* The office of Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. See this referred to *ante* p. 458, and *post* p. 494.

I must take my chance for the present, and take care of it myself for the future. I have no right to expect that it should be the concern of others.—Yours truly,

"LANSDOWNE."

Lansdowne had entirely concurred in the policy of the Junction, and testified his approval by holding office for a few months under that Government.

There never was a more amiable and virtuous man in any party, or any political station, than Lord Lansdowne; and I believe no man ever went through a long course of party strife with so little detriment to his principles and his feelings. He possessed great prudence and calmness of judgment, ample information, not at all confined to the topics of the day, and was as thoroughly honest and humble as a man can be. His talents for business, though he never was long in a department of much labour, were very great; his powers of debating equally distinguished; and he showed the greatest of all qualities in rising with the occasion; for no man ever led any assembly more admirably in all respects—both of temper, judgment, readiness, resources in debate, and excellent speaking—than he did, when the place of leader devolved upon him in 1846, especially during the difficulties of the very laborious session which followed. His fault (proceeding from extreme good-nature) was a tendency to be sometimes less firm to his own opinion than its great value would justify. But his modesty was one of his great and amiable qualities. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer, with universal applause, at the age of five-and-twenty; and when he again took office under the Junction Government of 1827,

no one could more satisfactorily perform the laborious duties of the Home Department.

He gave a very important popularity to the Government he belonged to, by his constant patronage of artists and learned men, and by the hospitalities (from kindness of temper somewhat extended, if not rather promiscuous) of Lansdowne House.

He was always a reformer, but of a moderate type; and no one could more dislike all quackery and all mob-courting, as well as all extreme courses, than he. If a very moderate Parliamentary reformer, he was to the end of his life a sincere and honest advocate of all useful improvement.

He always was above the narrow-minded spirit of mere party and coterie. But nothing can be more pure and unsullied than his party honour at all times.

In 1831 and 1832 he was as stanch with the more prominent supporters of the bill as any one could desire. I believe I may say (indeed I speak from personal knowledge) that a leader of the House of Lords so universally liked and respected by all parties never has existed, nor anything approaching to it.

There was no one more averse to the Junction than Lord Rosslyn, partly from distrust of Canning, but especially from his having made no stipulation for the Catholic question, to which he (Rosslyn) always attached the greatest importance, having indeed served in Ireland, as attached to Lord Carlisle's Government. The following letter is general, and does not touch on that subject:—

"*Oct.* 20, 1827.

"My dear Brougham,—I received your letter at Raby, where I was disappointed in my expectation of

meeting you. I communicated to Morland all that related to Cowan, who will be much obliged to you for your protection.

"You are entirely mistaken with respect to Grey and me; we are engaged with no Opposition or other political party, but disposed to persist in supporting the principles upon which we have been acting for so many years, and pursuing steadily, as we have done, the great objects to which every personal consideration has been sacrificed.

"I am exceedingly glad to hear that you are in such constant and confidential communication with his Majesty's servants; for I cannot help flattering myself that we shall soon see the result of your influence with them, and reap the fruit of your power in a decided amendment of their general system of proceeding; for hitherto every appointment that could confer power, and every arrangement of the law officers that has been thought of, have indicated a feeling most hostile to the Catholic question, and adverse to all the expectations which were held out when our friends took office.

"If in truth the Administration be cordially united and sincere in their professions, I trust that Lord Lansdowne's opinions may chance sometimes to prevail in their turn. Hitherto his part seems to me, uninformed as I am, to have been only that of submission without any compensation. I must confess that I must look with great doubt to all the declarations of union and good faith, until I see a powerful addition of our friends in Cabinet officers; but I am not sanguine enough to hope that these events will be speedily accomplished.—Yours faithfully, ROSSLYN."

"ARCHERFIELD, HADDINGTON,
Oct. 31, 1827.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM, — I did not receive your letter of Friday till last night, and I must confess that it greatly surprised me; but as you state that your question came entirely from yourself and without the least authority, and that both it and my answer are to rest between ourselves, I have no hesitation in replying to it with perfect frankness. I have had no reason to believe that it has ever been in the contemplation of ministers to offer me the Ordnance, and I have heard from various quarters that the same high authority which has excluded you from the great offices in your own profession to which your talents and influence entitled you to aspire, is no less adverse to the admission of Lord Holland into the Cabinet. But be that as it may, I cannot bring myself to believe that his acceptance of office, if it were offered to him, could in any way be influenced by the decision of so inconsiderable a person as myself, more especially as we have had no communication upon politics, and I know that everything I have said or done since the formation of Canning's Government has met with his disapprobation. Had this been suggested by any other person, I could not have treated it as serious; as it is, I must still remain persuaded that you are mistaken in your information.

"But to answer your question simply and distinctly as it relates to myself, I have only to say that I deliberately joined with Lord Grey in withholding any declaration of adherence or general support to Mr Canning's Administration; and I concurred with him in thinking that the new arrangement under which

Mr Huskisson has become its effective leader did not bring to it any greater claim to our confidence. Our views and reasons have been repeatedly explained to our friends, and nothing has occurred materially to change them. I therefore cannot now abandon Lord Grey, or renounce the course and principles to which we have been so long engaged. The very circumstance that he appears to have been thrown over by many of his friends, is with me an additional motive for adhering to him.

"I am not vain or weak enough to imagine that my single support is of any consequence to the Administration; but I must be allowed to remark, which I do with great regret, that the fears I entertained from the first have been confirmed by all the appointments that have taken place under either Cabinet, and especially by the more recent ones.

"I perhaps attach more importance than you are supposed to do to the success of the Irish question; but, believing as I do that the peace and security of the empire do mainly depend upon it, it gives me very painful forebodings to observe that in every single instance the patronage of Government has been exerted in a manner to support and encourage the declared enemies of that cause, and to indicate either the indifference, or, as I believe, the weakness, of its friends.

"I cannot help thinking that the appointment of Hart* is as bad as possible, independent of the political and religious doctrines he imbibed under Lord Eldon; and I cannot but consider the speculation upon Plunket's future chance to be altogether visionary. I knew long ago that you had been offered by Canning

* As Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

to become Chief Baron; but it was so obviously a desire to remove you from all political life, and—taking example, perhaps, from his own acceptance of Portugal and India—to bribe you to leave him without a rival in the House of Commons, that I never could have conceived you to be so devoid of all honest ambition as to submit to be extinguished in that manner. Be assured that I value as I ought to do your confidence in me; and that it is with the most sincere regret I perceive that the present aspect of political affairs presents itself to our two minds in lights so very different; that while you seem to entertain the most sanguine expectations from the ministers, I cannot help despairing of success in those objects to the pursuit of which our political lives have been devoted, and all consideration of personal interest sacrificed.

"I am sure that this disagreement will make no difference in our friendship; and I wish for nothing more earnestly than that the result may justify your confidence and prove that I have been mistaken.—Yours faithfully, ROSSLYN."

"DYSART, *December* 22, 1827.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have to thank you for two letters, containing the history of Lord Goderich's vagary and the result of it; and it must be confessed that the whole transaction manifests a degree of weakness in him, and of want of spirit and energy in his colleagues, sufficient to disgrace and ruin any Administration. In these times, however, no degree of insufficiency and humiliation seems to disqualify men for the conduct of the public interests. The King, as you truly say, is nearly absolute; but that he is so is

attributable only to the present ministers, and those who have kept them in their situations.

"The King has played his cards and pursued his purpose with great ability and firmness, and with a perfect perception of the characters of those with whom he has had to deal; and he has accordingly formed the most submissive and subservient Administration this country has seen for near a century and a half.

"It would be idle to indulge the hope of any important change in the nature and character of the Government under the present ministry, considering the terms upon which they took office, and upon which they now submit to hold it after their experience of the last eight months.

"With respect to your remark in the first of these two letters respecting the ex-ministers, I can only say that I have as little opportunity of knowing their intentions or expectations as I have of the arrangements or intrigues of their successors; but as far as Grey's name is concerned, you, who know his opinions and purposes from his own full explanation of them as well as I do, must have been able to contradict any rumours affecting him, which you know could only proceed from wilful misrepresentation.

"I agree with you that the Address can hardly be so framed as not to make debate and disagreement on the first day unavoidable; and my doubt only arose from feeling the awkwardness of such debate in the absence of the leaders of the ministers; and it did not appear to me impossible to adopt the course usually followed at the opening of a new Parliament, and allow time by adjournment, either by command or

otherwise, to fill up the Commons and give the King's Speech a week later.—Yours faithfully, ROSSLYN.

"I think Spalding is sure of two steps immediately, if not more."

TO EARL GREY.

"*January* 1828.

"Goderich went to Windsor yesterday and represented that the Government as now constituted could not go on. He did not resign (though he really can never be said to know accurately this matter). Then Copley went, and then returned again with Wellington. What may be the result I know not. Some say Wellesley. I have had no communication with any of them, and shall go on my own way, only taking the liberty of giving them such a squeeze when Parliament meets as may tend to keep them in mind of there being a House of Commons—a thing wholly forgotten nowadays.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"Lansdowne's at Bowood all the while!!! Call you this backing your friends?"

Before I left London for the circuit, in consequence of a conversation I had with Lord Cleveland I wrote to him thus:—

TO THE MARQUIS OF CLEVELAND.

"SCARTHING MOOR, *Sunday, July* 1828.

"MY DEAR LORD CLEVELAND,—Upon reconsidering the account you gave me of what passed between the Chancellor and yourself, it has struck me that as he said he wished you to mention the matter to me, I

ought to let him know, without waiting for any further communication, how entirely out of the question my taking any promotion is. The only thing that prevents me at once writing to this effect is, the absurdity of refusing a thing before it is offered, and the circumstance of your having referred him to me upon the whole subject. I should wish to know how the matter strikes you, as my only desire is to do what is right by all parties, and more particularly by yourself. Their measures *may* be such (at least as to Ireland) that we shall approve of, or they may not; it is impossible to say beforehand. But anything like joining them, and, above all, taking preferment from them (I speak for myself, both from feelings and principles), is wholly impossible, as the Government and parties are now constituted. If you think that your not having stated this, but referred him to me generally, makes it better that I should wait till he again comes on the subject, I shall do so. If you think I had better write at once, I can merely say, that from what you told me I perceived he had misunderstood my opinions upon the present state of affairs and parties, and so prevent any further discussion as to myself.

"I am mending a little, but slowly.—Yours ever most truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *October* 4, 1828.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Though nothing is or ought to be very interesting at present but Ireland, I am sure you will be happy to hear how successful the opening of the University has been. All the accounts I have (and they are daily, and from very opposite kinds of

men, as Auckland, Lushington, Leonard Horner, Loch, &c.) agree in this, that the delight of all who have been admitted was perfect: 700 or 800 were allowed to attend the opening lectures (including the students), and the rooms and halls were thrown open to them. The two first lectures, Bell's and Dr Condley's, have had the greatest success! and the entry of students at starting exceeds (the medical men say) anything before known in London, at the opening of a course—namely, '54. The professors and all concerned are therefore in the highest spirits, and we may consider the *medical* school as fairly launched. The *general* department will be much benefited by this success; but still I reckon on it being far less speedily in vogue, especially the Greek, Latin, and other elementary courses. However, all will, I am confident, be right in the end.

"I wish I could feel as comfortable about Ireland, but I own I never saw things in a more gloomy light in that quarter. It seems plain, too, that there has been a most favourable opportunity lost; for the Catholic leaders (priests and all) are clearly alarmed, and would be disposed heartily to join in pacifying the country. What the Government can mean—or whether they have any meaning at all—seems impossible to discover. Dawson's language is stronger in London than it was at Derry; yet I hear that everybody about the Duke of Wellington has been holding higher language against concession than ever. Can he possibly have made up his mind to a civil war? Bishops Doyle and Murray are in London, and I am told they represent things as in the most frightful state.—Yours ever most truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"*P.S.*—Three regiments of cavalry, the battalion of Guards, and all the disposable force, is collecting from Manchester to Liverpool."

Lord Grey did not materially differ with Lord Rosslyn, but he states his opinion in less detail:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *October* 7, 1828.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have received with the greatest pleasure your confirmation of the account I had previously read in the newspapers of the successful opening of the London University. It must afford the truest satisfaction to everybody who thinks, as I do, of the public benefit likely to arise from such an institution. But to you it must be peculiarly gratifying, for *you* have been the creator of this establishment, and your name will be for ever united with the improvements which may spring not only from this, but from the rival college,* which never would have existed but for the success of your exertions.

"I entirely agree with you that the state of Ireland must be considered as paramount to every other political question. I have no intimation of any kind as to what are the intentions of Government. Referring to what passed during the last session, and looking to the formidable head to which the danger has arisen, I should say that it is quite impossible that the Duke of Wellington should not be convinced of the necessity of settling this question in the only way in which it can be settled. Everything I heard of the language held, some time ago, by those who might be

* King's College in London.

considered as affording the first indications of his opinions—Arbuthnot, for instance, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir George Murray, and even Lord Lyndhurst—would lead to the same conclusion. Add to this the way in which the places in the Government have been filled up or kept vacant; none of the appointments having been anti-Catholic, and all of them seeming to indicate a reservation of the means of making a future and more permanent arrangement.

"To this, however, is to be set in opposition the ignorance in which we are kept as to the Duke's ultimate views, at a time which seems to call for an immediate declaration of them. His difficulties, no doubt, must be very great with the King, the state of whose health must latterly have made any decisive explanation impossible. My last account was dated Wednesday last. He was then still confined to his bed, where he had been for three weeks, not only with gout, but with an inflammation on the chest. No alarm was expressed; but considering both the subject and the nature of the complaint, there must have been ground for anxiety; and we know, even when all uneasiness may have passed away, how readily his Majesty can avail himself of a plea of this nature to avoid any disagreeable discussion.

"In the mean time the proceedings of Lord Anglesey and the speech of Dawson must have added to the embarrassments of the Government, if they had any right measures in view, by calling into action all the violence of the high Protestant party. But a difficulty is not lessened by standing still and staring at it; and a difficulty of this nature required the most prompt and vigorous measures to counteract it.

"All this, however, is vague conjecture; and all that I can say is, that the time is fast approaching when something more satisfactory must be required. We can no longer be amused with an uncertain hope that *something* may be done. The evil is beyond the reach of palliatives; and though I could not take upon myself the responsibility of rejecting any measures of this nature—on the contrary, I should wish to give them every possible chance of success—my conviction is that they would but 'skin and film the ulcerous place,' and that the smothered fire would be left to break out at a more dangerous season with irresistible force.

"You say nothing of your health, which I hope is better.

"I am sure you will be sorry to hear that I have lost my poor brother at Portsmouth.—Ever yours most truly, GREY."

P.S.—"I do not mean to throw any blame on Lord Anglesey or Dawson for what they have done, which was right in itself; but it must naturally produce the effect I have mentioned whilst any doubt remained of the course the Government at home intended to take."

With the Canning party I of course had less communication on this great question, because we had not come fully together, though we approached nearer at the end of the session than before. During the recess—after the session in which Huskisson and the remains of the Canning party had left the Duke's Government, or been driven out by him—there were constant discussions among our friends who had severed themselves from the temporary connection with that party,

though by degrees co-operation against the Duke's Government brought us more together than our just indignation at their junction with the ministers on their succeeding to Goderich. The most important subject of our discussions was the most important of all that time and of all times before 1829—Ireland and the Catholic question. Beside conferring and corresponding with Grey, I had frequent communication with Rosslyn, my intimacy with whom—which began in 1806, when we were in the Portuguese Commission at Lisbon—was continued and increased ever after.

My brother James also became his friend. On a very melancholy occasion he had accompanied him, when he went out as second to Stuart in his duel with Boswell, which arose out of the proceedings of the Edinburgh Tory party, some of whose leaders had given a bond to save harmless a newspaper (the 'Beacon'), devoted to violent personal attacks, as well as political, like papers of the same kind established by the King's friends in England on the loss of their bill against the Queen. As generally happens, the party violence and the personal attacks reached a greater height, and were of longer continuance, in provincial places than in the capital; and both Edinburgh (in the 'Beacon') and Glasgow (in the 'Sentinel') were examples of this. The charge of cowardice was brought against Stuart, and he traced to Boswell the authorship of the song in which it was made, with other scurrilities. His unhappy death occasioned the prosecution of Stuart, and warrants were issued against him, Rosslyn, and James. I was on circuit at Lancaster when Rosslyn passed through, having gone to

Brougham with Stuart and James; and when I went there after the circuit (which was just over), I found that the messenger who was in quest of them, both Rosslyn and James, was still there, but of course I refused to give him any information as to where they were concealed—they were hidden in what was called the *Priest's Hole:* it being, moreover, quite evident that the whole proceeding was only intended to give trouble,—that only Stuart was really to be tried, and the two others to be called as witnesses; which they were when Stuart was tried. He was most triumphantly acquitted, on the ground of the gross provocation he had received, and of the perfect fairness of the duel. It is a curious but perfectly authentic fact, that till he shot Boswell through the head he had never before fired a pistol.

Boswell was a very clever man, of violent ultra-Tory prejudices—as might be expected in a son of James Boswell (Bozzy)—and of some eccentricity. He once called on Sidmouth at the Home Office when he was Secretary of State, and the conversation turning on his political songs, he sung one of them to Sidmouth. The affair of the duel increased Rosslyn's intimacy with James and his confidence in him, and they had much intercourse on party matters ever afterwards.

In the autumn of 1828, while communicating with Rosslyn, I sent him the result of the best consideration I could give the case of the Catholic question, and the opinions of Althorpe, Abercromby, and others, on the subject itself, and on the course respecting it which the Duke, upon whom everything now depended, was

likely to take. The following was Rosslyn's answer, which is very remarkable for the sagacity of his views, and equally so for the proof it affords of his acting in conformity with his settled opinions, when next year he joined the Duke's Government, after the question had been carried by the firmness and temper of that great man :—

"DYSART, *October* 5, 1828.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am much obliged to you for your letter, and the communication of the information and the opinions it contained. The whole, including your own judgment upon this most interesting subject, certainly comprehends the result of the inquiries and the conjectures of the greatest authorities upon the question; but, after all, it is most painful and alarming to see how very little it amounts to.

"The excessive reserve which the Duke of Wellington has hitherto maintained, and the apparent ignorance and uncertainty of those who are supposed to be most in his confidence, must necessarily excite great distrust and anxiety in all who look forward to the dangers of refusing concessions, or even of the delay in announcing the disposition to grant them. This would not have surprised me, nor have occasioned any very great apprehension, if things in Ireland had remained in the position in which they were left at the end of the last session; for with the difficulties with which it was believed that he had to contend, as well in the Cabinet as at Court, not forgetting his adherents in the House of Lords, he would naturally keep his purpose (if he entertained that of liberal concession) secret till he was prepared to carry it into immediate execution,

more especially as he might have reckoned, with good reason, upon the Association's influence to keep the Catholics quiet till the commencement of the session. But here I must agree with what you say of Lady Jersey's language, that Lord Anglesey's conduct, and his constant endeavour to obtain a little personal popularity at the expense of the Government he was serving, has done infinite mischief, and created the greatest embarrassment to the Ministers; and if to this you add the excitement produced by Dawson's rash speech, which, taken together, have inflamed the Protestants to madness, and produced the violent reaction of the Orangemen in Ireland and in England, you must see that the Duke's plans and arrangements have been frustrated, and you will not wonder at the tone which his friends have taken. The relative situation of all parties is materially changed, and a new plan of operations must be conceived and digested; but I cannot from thence argue that the Duke will '*wait the coming of the storm*,' and suffer himself to be the sport of events which he must know it is as much his duty as it is in his power to control. I quite agree with Althorpe, that the Brunswick clubs will not alter his purpose, or force him into their measures, though they most certainly will annoy and embarrass him in more ways than one. The influence of the Duke of Cumberland, and the supposed indisposition of the King to consent to any concessions, though grave obstacles, and very much aggravated by the clamour that the Orangemen are raising, do not appear to me to be the principal source of the Duke's difficulties. I believe that Peel is very impracticable; and before I left town I am sure that his refusal, or ex-

pected refusal, to come into any measures of conciliation, was thus felt to be the principal obstacle to the proposal of an arrangement for Ireland; and I was then much impressed with the persuasion (derived from many conversations in quarters that had great weight with me) that the Duke was then much disposed to settle the question of Ireland, and was applying his thoughts very seriously to the subject.

"If Peel refuses to go on with the Duke in a conciliatory measure for Ireland, his resignation would overset the Administration in the House of Commons, and force the Duke to an arrangement entirely new, and that with the King previously irritated and excited against it, which must at least lead to great confusion and embarrassment. Nevertheless, upon looking at the whole case in every light in which I can present it to my own mind, I am still inclined to give the Duke so far credit as to believe that it is impossible that he should embark the country in a civil war with his eyes open to the consequences; and I think he can hardly be sanguine enough to suppose that a general rebellion and war in Ireland, however successful the arms of England may be in the end—even if the ruin of Ireland and the destruction of a million of lives were matters of indifference—can be carried on without the interference of France; at first, perhaps, by an offer of mediation, and afterwards by more decisive measures, for which the treaty of 8th July forms a happy model. The opportunity of humbling Britain and revenging the occupation of Paris would be too tempting to be resisted, either by the bigot or the democratical party in France. From

this I conclude that he must feel the urgent and unavoidable necessity of making concessions such as he thinks will conciliate. I nevertheless cannot help fearing that these concessions may be accompanied with conditions and securities that, in the present temper of Ireland, may lessen their salutary effect, if not destroy it.

"I agree with you in the persuasion that great numbers of the rich and influential Catholics, and even many of the priests, are so much alarmed at the awful aspect of the power they have conjured up, and the evident difficulty of controlling it, if any violent provocation be given by the Orangemen, and Catholic blood be spilt to any serious extent, that they will be glad to catch at any reasonable arrangement, and by their means, if the matter be managed with firmness and address, the country may be saved, and the more violent spirit kept under for the moment. With peace and conciliatory government for a little time the Catholics will be divided, and the government may be quietly administered; but there can be no doubt that all hostile proceedings by either faction must be instantly controlled by military force. I wish the Duke may see the importance of taking his measures, and declaring his intention with little delay; for much danger will be incurred by loss of time, and I don't see what he can gain by it. But if I am right in my reasoning and my speculation upon his wishes and purposes, we must suppose that he has some good and powerful reason for his present inaction; for considering his whole conduct and character, I cannot bring myself to impute it to indecision. I return Abercromby's letter.—Yours faithfully, ROSSLYN."

TO EARL GREY.

"LONDON, *November* 15, 1828.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I conclude that you have heard of Arbuthnot denying to the Duke of Bedford that the Duke of Wellington was doing or intended to do anything this session, but would wait for events. Gosh is not the most acute of men, and may be wrong in his inferences, or may not have been confided in. Certainly others who are about the Duke say the reverse; and one who sees those persons, and can form a very good judgment, and is, moreover, extremely little disposed in Wellington's favour, assures me he is convinced he (Wellington) has got a plan, and has been conversing with several on the question, and flatters himself he will be able to settle Ireland. Goodwin says he knows nothing is to be done.

"James Parke is our new judge. University flourishing—new shares, 52 since we opened. The law class begins with *ninety* students.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Lord Rosslyn's strong opinions and warm feelings on the Irish question have been adverted to. All through 1828 he and Lord Grey entertained hopes that the Duke would attempt to carry emancipation, and they were favourably disposed to a general co-operation with him founded upon that ground. The following letters illustrate their feelings on this subject:—

"DYSART, *Nov.* 25, 1828.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I thank you very much

for your letter, and having no correspondent in London upon whose authority or information I can entirely depend, I am the more thankful for your communication. I have seen Adam, who was with the King several times at the cottage and dined with him, and his account both of his health and spirits is very favourable. I believe him to be well for the present. I quite concur with you in thinking Ireland not only the first and paramount object of interest and anxiety, but so nearly the only one worth immediate notice, that all other questions sink into nothing in comparison with it. I should be most happy to be able to convince myself that the Duke of Wellington had made up his mind to any scheme of conciliation, and was prepared to carry his measure of substantial relief into execution at all hazards; but I cannot conquer my fear that the difficulties may deter him, more especially when I see the extravagant folly of O'Connell, who seems to be ready to sacrifice the whole cause, and the peace of both countries, to the gratification of his own inordinate vanity.

"It must be confessed, that between the insane bigotry of the Brunswickers and Orangemen on one side, and the indiscretion and intemperance of O'Connell on the other, a minister has a very hard game to play, especially with his most effective colleagues banded against him, and the King adverse.

"If he really commits himself on the one side of Catholic relief, he has some right to the support and assistance of those who are to benefit by his measures.

"Upon the friends of the Catholics—or, to speak more correctly, those who would make any sacrifice to avoid civil and probably in the end foreign war, and

to save the empire here from utter ruin—I think he may confidently depend; but the present state of his forces in Parliament is far from satisfactory, and the obedience of his troops far from certain.—Faithfully yours, ROSSLYN."

All who took office with the Duke next year, after he had carried the Catholic question, were highly approved of both by Grey, Althorpe, and myself, because the Duke's proceedings, and his wish for our help, were indications of his intending to follow the liberal course taken by the Junction Government. Lord Rosslyn was a strong instance of this. Nothing could be more hearty than our approval of his accepting the Privy Seal, which he would not take until he had an interview with Grey, and his entire approval. Lord Fitzwilliam applied to the Duke direct to keep Scarlett as Attorney-General—I believe unknown to Scarlett. Darlington and his members, except my brother and myself, were avowed supporters of the Duke's Government, and he made through him, once or twice, proposals for me to take professional office. The place of Chief Baron had in Canning's time been pressed upon me. When he urged me, saying he had overcome with great difficulty the King's objections to me, I said, I certainly could not think of giving up my profession and my position in the Commons. But he said, "By taking that you are at the point—*partes ubi se via findit in ambas*—and may have either the King's Bench or the Great Seal on a vacancy; but don't say No till you have seen your friend Lyndhurst." So I saw him next day at the private room in Lincoln's Inn, when he said, "Well, what do you say to Can-

ning's statement of the dividing point of the road?" I said, "My answer is, that I should be left there without post-horses to carry me on either way;" on which he laughed heartily, and said, "I have told Canning that the proposal was out of the question, and that they must be satisfied with your support out of office." This, however, led the Duke to make offers through Darlington; and my first answer was, that while the Catholic question remained unsettled I could not think of it. Next year, when that difficulty was removed, Darlington had a letter from the Duke that he wanted to see him upon the same subject. Darlington wrote to me desiring to know what answer he should give him (the Rolls was in question). I received his letter on my way to York, and immediately answered it, by begging him not to have any interview with the Duke; for as I was quite resolved to refuse, I thought it was not fair or honourable in me, with that resolution taken, to allow a great offer to be made, merely that I might have the *éclat* of having refused it. So, in accordance with my request, he had at that time no further communication with the Duke, but he afterwards took an opportunity of telling him how handsomely I had behaved.

TO EARL GREY.

"*December* 8, 1828.

"My dear Lord Grey,—Parnell's account of Irish affairs is certainly as gloomy as can be. He says that there is hardly a part of the country where the people have not been, as it were, trained—that is, organised as to turning out and moving in bodies, chiefly by the old soldiers, of whom 28,000 (pen-

sioners) are scattered up and down Ireland. This and all the other bad features of the case, he says, are well known to Government; and he describes Hardinge (whom he has seen) as extremely well informed on the nature and extent of the danger, which, I take it, includes some considerable uncertainty as to the Roman Catholics among the soldiers.

"His (Parnell's) belief is that some measure will be tried, and is in agitation, and that all these conferences with bishops and archbishops mean this. In fact, if the Duke of Wellington intends doing anything, they are the very gentry he would begin with, because of the expediency of finding what securities, &c. they would require. He (Parnell) agrees, however, as to the necessity of keeping no terms, if either nothing or as bad as nothing is done.

"The accounts are various of what is to be tried. Some say the whole measure with the wing; others the *whole except Parliament* (!!!), with the same wing; others, this fraction without the wing.* To be sure, if Parliament is to be cut out of it, there is no great matter whether they add the wing or not. Others, again, say Parliament, but not offices. I suppose no one can doubt that it is not to be treated as emancipation at all, or as amounting to anything like it, if Parliament be not a part of it. But I should feel much greater difficulty if either the whole, or even Parliament without offices, were offered clogged with the 40s. wing. I opposed that wing with you in 1825, and assuredly what has since happened

* The bill disfranchising the 40s. freeholders. This and the bill for suppressing the Catholic Association were popularly called "The Wings."

greatly increases the objections to it, insomuch that many who were for it then are clearly against it now. Nevertheless it would be a very alarming thing to take upon one's self any part, however small, of the responsibility of rejecting the emancipation, or what might be substantially the emancipation, though coupled with a measure of a most unconciliatory nature. If the wing were kept separate from the main measure, the course would be easy; but suppose it part of the bill, and you oppose it in the committee, and then are beaten, and then have to vote for or against both on the report and third reading: that is the difficulty.

"You have seen Denman's rank mentioned. The Duke of Wellington behaved throughout most admirably in it; and to give the King his due, he behaved as well as possible *in the peculiar circumstances*, which were these: Denman was informed last summer that the King had been told and believed that his speech (I suppose the quotation) was meant as a personal charge against him. Denman felt naturally very indignant at such an imputation as this gross misconstruction conveyed against him (Denman), and called on Copley to vindicate him from it—he having heard the speech. He found it necessary to state what he had to say in a memorial in his own justification; and finding Copley much too slow in the matter, he asked to see the Duke of Wellington, who undertook it in a very fair and handsome manner.* This was late in July. The King's illness delayed the settlement of it, and a further delay took place be-

* The allusion here is to Denman quoting at length from Tacitus (Annal. xiv. 23), the denunciation of the conduct of Nero to Octavia.—See the Proceedings in the Bill of Pains and Penalties, 24th October 1820; Hansard, 1088.

cause the King said he must write what he had to say with his own hand. As soon as he was able he did so, and Wellington and Copley read it to Denman when he went to them last Sunday. It alluded generally to the misunderstanding of his quotation, and among other things (which I think very gallant) took the whole blame on himself, exonerating Eldon as well as Copley by name, and stating that he had expressly forbidden them ever to mention Denman to him. It is fair to say that if the King laboured under such a belief or even suspicion, he was in a predicament in which men seldom reason or even think at all.

"But it will be very strange if after this (the most difficult of all subjects to come near) the Duke should find anything insuperable in the objections to Wilson.

"You might observe a mysterious statement in the 'Times,' as if from authority, about the King having come round on the Catholic question. Nobody seems to understand how far this is correct; but certainly if he is to be brought round, it ought to be tried before the Duke of Cumberland comes, who is fuller of spirits and all mischief than ever, and says he will come if he lives in a coffee-house. In fact, he wants to start for the Regency under the Orange colours—making the Brunswick clubs his handle for the purpose of setting himself up with the country.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"An odd story is talked of, that Bishop Sumner urged the King to forgiveness of enemies when he gave the sacrament."

"LANCASTER, *March* 28, 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I agree with all you say as to the unpalatable nature of the 40s. bill. The

more it is considered, the more clearly does one see that there can be but *one* reason for swallowing it—viz., the extreme pressure of the necessity for the other, and the impossibility of getting it without paying that price, though I admit this is rather a clumsy and unconstitutional view. I really look upon the carrying of the question to be not merely necessary for Ireland, but of the utmost importance in breaking up the long reign of bigotry and Toryism in England.

"As for the Duke not dismissing people, it is a risk he exposes the measure to; but he really is so much in earnest, and entirely committed with us to carry it, and has behaved generally so well and firmly upon it throughout, that we ought to trust him for knowing *good reasons* why. In fact, I have little doubt that there are difficulties of a peculiar nature at Windsor, and should not wonder if there were symptoms of disease. Surely, if that be the case, almost anything should be put up with to have the bill carried speedily. The feeling of the country where said to be *against* the question, is most grossly exaggerated. That I see new proofs of every day, talking to persons of credit from different parts of Lancashire and Cheshire.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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